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# CATALOGUE OF THE COINS

OF THE

# VANDALS, OSTROGOTHS AND LOMBARDS

AND OF THE EMPIRES OF

# THESSALONICA, NICAEA AND TREBIZOND

## IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

BY

WARWICK WROTH

ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF THE COINS AND MEDALS

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# PREFACE BY THE KEEPER OF COINS

THE present Catalogue is intended to supplement the two volumes of the Catalogue of *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* published by the Trustees in 1908, and contains a description of the coins of the Vandals and Ostrogoths and of the Lombard Kingdom and Lombard Duchy of Beneventum. The coinages of the so-called Empires which arose after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, namely Thessalonica, Nicaea, and Trebizond, are included in the volume, and the coins of the despots of Epirus and of the Duchy of Neopatras are also briefly noticed.

The size of the coins is given in inches and tenths and the weight in English Troy grains. Tables for converting grains into grammes and inches into millimetres, as well as into the measures of Mionnet's scale, are placed at the end of the volume. At the end of the Indexes chronological lists of Kings and Dynasts will be found.

The whole work has been written by Mr. Warwick Wroth, Assistant-Keeper of the Coins and Medals, and the proof-sheets have been read by myself and by Mr. G. F. Hill, Senior Assistant in the Department.

H. A. GRUEBER.

BRITISH MUSEUM,
*May*, 1911.

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# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 104, notes, line 6, *for* Fostulus *read* Fostlus.

P. 155 and p. 167, *for* Beneventine *read* Beneventan.

P. 206. The weight of Professor Oman's coin is 34·7 grain.

# INTRODUCTION

## § 1. Coinage of the Vandals.

The first coinages of the Vandals can hardly have originated in the period of their early wanderings in Europe, but at some time in the first half of the fifth century A.D., when their settlement in the territory of the Empire had begun to acquire something of a permanent character.[1]

**The earliest Vandal coinages.**

In the year 406 the Vandals, under their king Gunderic, first entered Gaul: in 409 they passed into Spain, where they settled, but after a lapse of about twenty years, under pressure from their powerful rivals and neighbours the Visigoths, they crossed over to Africa (May, A.D. 429),[2] where, under Gaiseric (who had succeeded his half-brother Gunderic in 428), the Vandal kingdom was established and organized.

It is possible that during their stay in Gaul and their still longer sojourn in Spain they may have minted money imitated from Roman prototypes; but no such coins can be identified with certainty, and the earliest currency that can make anything like a certain claim to be Vandalic is probably not anterior to the migration to Africa in A.D. 429. Nor is it quite certain that coinage began even in 429, because the kingdom was organized only by degrees, and at that time not even the town of Hippo Regius had fallen into Vandal hands, while the great city of Carthage, the usual African mint-centre, did not become Vandal till ten years later.

The difficulty of determining the date of issue of the earliest coins is further increased by the circumstance that of the six kings who occupied the Vandal throne till its overthrow by the Emperor Justinian in A.D. 533, the last four only (Gunthamund, Trasamund, Hilderic, and Gelimer) are known to have put forth money inscribed with their names. Yet it would be strange if the founder Gaiseric during his long reign of nearly fifty years, or his son and successor Huneric, made no attempt to institute a currency; and there is, in fact, a mass of extant coinage which, though

[1] On the history of the Vandals see chiefly Ludwig Schmidt, *Geschichte der Wandalen*, Leipzig, 1901; T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. ii. 2nd ed., 1892. On the Vandal coinage, J. Friedlaender, *Die Münzen der Vandalen*, Leipzig, 1849; C. F. Keary, *Coinages of Western Europe*, London, 1879, pp. 30–42.

[2] So L. Schmidt (pp. 36, 37), Gibbon, Clinton, &c.; Mr. Hodgkin (*Italy*, &c., ii, pp. 230, 290 f.) argues in favour of May, 428.

not inscribed with the name of any Vandal king, is clearly, from its style, types, and provenance, of the Vandalic period and, at least in part, of Vandalic origin. It is therefore necessary, at the outset, to examine with some care these Anonymous Coinages,[1] which are as follows :—

1. GOLD.

(*Solidus* and *Tremissis.*)

($\alpha$) With name of Valentinian III, A.D. 425–455.

($\beta$) With name of Anastasius I, A.D. 491–518.

**Vandalic coinages not inscribed with the kings' names. 1. In gold.**

These are imitative coins—copied from Imperial prototypes—which the late Count de Salis has pronounced to be Vandal on grounds of style (and probably of provenance).[2] Those of Class $\alpha$ (Pl. I. 1, 2) may be conjectured to have provided the gold coinage of Gaiseric (A.D. 428–477); those of Class $\beta$ (Pl. II. 6–8) the coinage of Trasamund (A.D. 496–523).

There is also, of course, the possibility that these coins may have been in circulation in reigns other than those of Gaiseric and Trasamund; thus, some of the Valentinian coins ($\alpha$) assigned to Gaiseric may belong to his son Huneric (A.D. 477–484), and the Anastasius coinage ($\beta$) may have begun under Trasamund's predecessor Gunthamund (A.D. 484–496).

2. SILVER.

($\alpha$) de Salis has classed as Vandalic some rather rude silver coins with the name of Honorius (A.D. 395–423) and *rev.* Roma seated (Pl. I. 3–6).

**2. In silver.**

($\beta$) Silver with name of Honorius. *Rev.* Carthage standing, holding ears of corn (Pl. I. 12), dated Anno IIII and Anno V.

($\gamma$) Silver with name of Justin I (A.D. 518–527). *Rev.* FELIX CARTA Carthage holding ears of corn (Pl. II. 12, 13).

Classes $\alpha$ and $\beta$, being imitations of coins of Honorius, who died A.D. 423, will be most naturally assigned to the earliest Vandal kings. It is possible that both types belong to the first king, Gaiseric, years IIII and V being reckoned from the capture of Carthage in 439 (a date regarded as the Vandal 'Era'[3]). But as we need a silver coinage for his successor Huneric, $\alpha$ (Roma seated) may be assigned to Gaiseric, and $\beta$ (Carthage holding ears of corn) to Huneric, Anno IIII and Anno V being regarded as regnal years of Huneric.[4]

[1] That is, not bearing the names of Vandal rulers, though in some cases the names of emperors are inscribed.

[2] Cp. Keary, *Coinages of W. Eur.*, pp. 19, 20.

[3] Schmidt, *Gesch. d. Wand.*, p. 76.

[4] Friedlaender (*M. d. Vand.*, p. 21) had already assigned $\beta$ to Huneric, though on the

Class γ, with the name of the Emperor Justin I (A. D. 518–527), cannot be earlier than the reign of Trasamund (A. D. 496–523), though it may belong to that of his successor, Hilderic (A. D. 523–530). The claim of Hilderic seems preferable because he has the 'Carthage' type on his *named* silver coins (Pl. II. 14, 15), and we know that he was in friendly relations with Justin and the Byzantine court.[1]

### 3. LARGE BRONZE COINS.

**3. In Bronze.**

These are of two types:—

(α) *Obv.* KARTHAÇO The Vandal king (?), standing. *Rev.* Horse's head (Pl. I. 7–11).

(β) *Obv.* Carthage holding ears of corn. *Rev.* Mark of value in wreath (Pl. I. 13–16). (Also a smaller denomination (γ) with *rev.* $\overline{\text{N}}$ IIII (Pl. I. 17, 18).)

Keary (*op. cit.*, p. 40), by making a comparison between the marks of value found on these coins with those found on the silver coins of Vandalic kings,[2] has shown that it is unlikely that these bronze and silver coins were in circulation concurrently. The bronze coins, then, must be earlier than Gunthamund (the first king who issued *named* silver money) or later than Gelimer, the last of the Vandal kings. They do not seem to be later than Gelimer, because they bear no trace of the new Imperial sway.[3] The alternative remains that they were issued in the period *before* Gunthamund, a period when it had not yet become customary to inscribe the regal coins with the regal name.

Type α (Pl. I. 7–11), which makes such pointed allusion to Carthage,[4] may well have been issued by Gaiseric immediately after his capture of that important city (October 19, 439).

Type β (Pl. I. 13–16), Carthage holding ears of corn, may have been introduced by his successor Huneric, to whom we have already assigned imitative silver coins with a similar type (Pl. I. 12).

Type γ (Pl. I. 17, 18) is akin to α and β, but it is difficult to decide whether it belongs to Gaiseric or Huneric, and there is even a possibility that it may belong to a later period (see *infra*, p. 7).

mistaken supposition that the *obv.* inscription was a blundered form of the name 'Huneric'. Cp. Keary, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–5.

[1] See also p. 13, *infra*.

[2] i.e. those found on silver coins inscribed with the names of the kings and therefore of certain attribution. Cp. Friedlaender, *M. d. Vand.*, p. 12: 'The marks of value on the silver and the bronze coins clearly indicate that these coinages are not based on the same unit of value.'

[3] The marks of value if impressed by order of Justinian would no doubt, in accordance with the system of the Byzantine *Follis*, have been XXXX (or M) and XX (or K) and not (as we actually find) XLII and XXI. Cp. B. M. C., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i, p. 64, 'Justinian I, Carthage.'

[4] On the horse's head as a symbol of Carthage see *infra*, p. 3.

This coinage of large bronze coins was perhaps supplemented by the use of Imperial Roman bronze coins with Vandal countermarks. In the Berlin cabinet and other collections there exist coins of this class (usually *asses*) bearing the countermark XLII, as on the Vandal bronze above described. These coins are of the earlier Empire, from the first century to the third (time of Salonina). There are also extant some Imperial coins countermarked LXXXIII,[1] the provenance of which is Italian (Padua and Rome), and on this account their Vandalic character is open to some doubt. Even with regard to the coins countermarked XLII there may be some hesitation as to whether the countermarking was done by the Vandals.[2]

**Roman bronze coins, apparently countermarked by the Vandals.**

On the assumption that the countermarks on these coins are Vandalic, it may be conjectured that the utilization of Roman coins as Vandal currency took place before the regular issue of the Vandal bronze with mark of value XLII began, i. e. before the capture of Carthage (A. D. 439), after which event the Vandal mints were probably more carefully organized. The possibility is not, however, to be excluded that these countermarked pieces were put in circulation *subsequent* to the issue of the Vandal bronze with XLII, i. e. (according to our arrangement) after the reign of Huneric, when the large bronze coins with marks of value ceased to be struck. Huneric's successors themselves issued only small bronze pieces of Vandal workmanship, but it may have been found necessary to put into currency larger bronze coins marked as equivalent in value to the XLII coins of Gaiseric and Huneric—hence the issue of the countermarked Roman pieces.

Between these two hypotheses—an issue *before* 439 and an issue *after circ.* 484 (death of Huneric)—it is difficult to choose: only the evidence of Finds could probably settle the question.

## 4. SMALL BRONZE COINS.

Hilderic and Gelimer, the last two Vandal rulers, struck small bronze coins inscribed with their names.[3] But this inscribed coinage appears to have been scanty, and the 'small change' of Vandalic times must mainly be sought for among a great mass of little bronze coins (Pl. III, IV) which are found singly or in hoards in northern

**Small bronze coins of the Vandal kings and the Mauri?**

[1] This countermark is stated to be certain, and is not LXXXIIII as would naturally have been expected.

[2] At least I am not aware that these coins are of African provenance. On the whole series see Dressel in *Bullettino dell' Inst. di corr. arch.* (Rome), 1879, pp. 126 f.; Friedlaender in *Zeit. f. Num.*, vi (1879), pp. 21 f.; *Berl. Blätter*, iii, p. 283.

[3] The coins supposed to bear the names of Gunthamund and of Trasamund are not of certain attribution.

Africa and Sicily, and which have also been discovered in Italy, mingled with Ostrogothic and Imperial money.[1]

Count de Salis brought together about the year 1860 all the coins in the British Museum that seemed to him to belong to this Vandalic class; among them being many specimens, presented by himself, of which he probably knew (though he has rarely recorded) the African provenance, and also a large series acquired by the Museum in 1849 from Mr. J. Doubleday, which there are reasons for thinking was procured in Africa.[2]

Some other specimens were acquired in 1854 from Mr. Aschkenasi of Tunis, others, in 1865, from Mr. Paul Gadban, a Turkish Consul-General, and others, again, found or procured in Egypt, were presented in 1888 by Mr. Jesse Haworth.

These supposed Vandalic issues (Pl. III, IV) are of small module, rudely struck on inadequate flans, and do not often bear an inscription, or at least an intelligible one. They present a remarkable number of types, and even when a type, such as Victory, or the Cross, is often repeated it will be found that many varieties occur in design and fabric.[3] Perhaps the best way to approach the examination of these puzzling but not, intrinsically, very important coins is, in the first place, to separate them into two classes, one of them formed by the coins that bear the names of emperors.

The emperors represented (on the British Museum coins) are:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Theodosius I | A. D. 379–395. |
| Honorius | 395–423. |
| Theodosius II | 408–450. |
| Valentinian III | 425–455. |
| Marcian | 450–457. |
| Leo I | 457–474. |
| Zeno | 474–491. |
| Anastasius I | 491–518. |
| Justinian I | 527–565. |

[1] This was the case with the hoard of Monte Roduni unearthed in 1843 and described by Friedlaender in his *Münzen der Vandalen*, pp. 41 f. From the barbarous character of many of the coins I am disposed to consider them Vandalic or Moorish rather than Ostrogothic, though it may be that some of these small pieces were used by the Ostrogoths for convenience of small change (cp. *infra*, § 2, p. li). Since the descriptions in our text (pp. 17–42) were in type, P. Orsi has published a welcome account of a hoard partly consisting of small 'Vandalic' bronze coins discovered in the Island of Lipari (*Rivista ital. di num.*, 1910, pp. 353 f.). Orsi has also briefly described (*Notizie degli scavi*, 1909, p. 61) a similar find made at Syracuse.

[2] The small bronze coins in this purchase present the appearance of having formed part of a large find, and in connexion with some specimens de Salis has noted that they came 'from Africa'. The same purchase included various Greek coins of Africa and Egypt.

[3] A find of 3,418 small bronze coins of Vandalic times was made at Carthage about the year 1887: see a brief note in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. franç.*, 1902, p. 548, referring to an article by Delattre in *Mém. Soc. arch. de Constantine*, xxxv (1901).

The first six of these emperors died many years before King Gaiseric (died A. D. 477), so that Vandalic imitations of their coins could have been struck by Gaiseric, or, equally, of course, by his successors. The coins with the name of Zeno could have been struck during the reigns of Huneric and Gunthamund; those of Anastasius by Gunthamund and Trasamund. Those bearing the name of Justinian cannot have been issued earlier than the reign of Hilderic whose reign extends from A. D. 523 to 530.

But although the presence of Imperial heads gives in several cases a rough clue to the arrangement of these small bronze coins, there are numerous other specimens, *without* the names of emperors, which are very difficult to attribute. These latter coins are, usually, exceptionally rude in style and of very small size, and display a variety of types, some of which are imitated from coins of the Constantinopolitan emperors, while others seem to be original or at least not to be derived directly from any single prototype.

For convenience of reference, and because of the present uncertainty of the attributions, it has seemed best to catalogue this whole series of small coins (pp. 17 ff. *infra*), rather mechanically, under the types of their reverses, placing first, under each type, the coins that bear Imperial heads. Thus, we have, first, a series of 'Victory' types (a favourite subject) with the heads of Honorius and Valentinian III on their obverses, or with a head (king's or emperor's) which cannot be identified. Reverse types relating to the emperor form another series: others, again, are grouped together because they bear an inscription (like VOT XIII) in the centre of the reverse, or because they show a monogram as 'type'. In some instances I have suggested an attribution to a specific Vandal sovereign, but in most cases the coins seem too barbarous and too varied in their types to be assignable exclusively to Vandal rulers. To the Vandal *period* they may well belong, but their issuers would seem to have been some tribe or people less civilized than the Vandals and who understood less well the art of coining and the regularization of currency. Now, all through the course of Vandal history in Africa we hear, in particular, of the Mauri as a constant source of trouble to the kings; if already subdued, we find them throwing off the yoke; if free, they make temporary inroads and even permanent settlements at the expense of the Vandal monarchy. In the year 508, for instance, we hear of one Masuna who took to himself the full-sounding title of 'Rex Maurorum et Romanorum' and gained possession of territory that had once been Vandalic. Whether or not the few bronze coins that I have ventured to ascribe to him (p. 39, *infra*) are worthy of such a potentate or were, indeed, struck by him at all, may be open to some doubt, but at any rate the position and pretensions of a chieftain of this kind suggest the conditions under which the issue of these varied series of minute African bronze coins probably took place. Prototypes

were chosen, we may suspect, more or less at hazard, and the inscribing of a few not very intelligible letters on the coin—as apparently in the case of Masuna—was the summit of the engraver's ambition.

## 1. GOLD.

**General view of Vandal coinage.**

The Vandals, unlike the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and Lombards, made little use of gold for purposes of currency. Gold might be collected as bullion and even be coined to satisfy the barbarian greed and love of hoarding, or to pay a great tax or tribute, but, on the whole, silver and bronze were probably an adequate medium of exchange for the not extensive commerce of the Vandal people, which was, indeed, chiefly concerned with the distribution of the products of their great main industry —agriculture. Gaiseric (if our attribution is correct) introduced imitative *solidi* and *tremisses*, weighing about 67 grains (or more) and 23 grains, respectively, and this coinage was probably renewed by Trasamund, the fourth king. The later rulers ceased to issue gold, and in no case was it struck with the king's own portrait. The well-known statement of Procopius that gold coins always bore the Imperial types, and that it was contrary to right and custom for any king, whether of the Persians or the Barbarians, to strike gold money with native types is undoubtedly true of the Vandals; and we shall find it true also of the gold coinage of the Ostrogoths.[1]

[1] The passage in Procopius, *Bell. Goth.*, iii. 33, ed. Haury, vol. ii, pp. 442, 443 = ed. Bonn, ii, p. 417, is as follows:—Καὶ κάθηνται μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀρελάτῳ τὸν ἱππικὸν ἀγῶνα θεώμενοι, νόμισμα δὲ χρυσοῦν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γάλλοις μετάλλων πεποίηνται, οὐ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος, ᾧπερ εἴθισται, χαρακτῆρα ἐνθέμενοι τῷ στατῆρι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν εἰκόνα. Καίτοι νόμισμα μὲν ἀργυροῦν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ᾧ βούλοιτο ποιεῖν εἴωθε, χαρακτῆρα δὲ ἴδιον ἐμβαλέσθαι στατῆρι χρυσῷ οὔτε αὐτὸν θέμις οὔτε δὲ ἄλλον ὁντιναοῦν βασιλέα τῶν πάντων βαρβάρων, καὶ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ὄντα χρυσοῦ κύριον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς ξυμβάλλουσι προῖεσθαι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦτο οἷοί τέ εἰσιν, εἰ καὶ βαρβάροις τοὺς ξυμβάλλοντας εἶναι ξυμβαίνει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε Φράγγοις ἐχώρησεν.

ἐν τῇ Ἀρελάτῳ, the Franks at Arles. χαρακτῆρα (ἐνθέμενοι), the whole design of the solidus or tremissis, including, no doubt, the 'legends' as well as the 'types'. εἰκόνα may perhaps be merely a synonym for χαρακτῆρα: Mr. Keary (*Coinages of W. Europe*, p. 22) translates it 'portrait', and no doubt the portrait-bust of the native ruler would be one of the 'types'. νόμισμα ἀργυροῦν. The silver coins of the Sassanian dynasty bore the king's bust and name on one side and a representation of the Persian fire-altar on the other. οὔτε θέμις. The expression is probably used very broadly, so as to mean 'contrary to the Imperial privilege and also abhorrent to prevailing custom'. Procopius adds that even if gold coins with native types had been commonly struck, they would not have passed current even among the Barbarians themselves. We may gather then, as Mr. Keary (in Hodgkin's *Italy*, &c., iv, p. 543) has already well remarked, that custom and commercial convenience, quite as much as, or more than, reverence for the privileges of the emperor, induced the Barbarians to issue as their gold coinages mere imitations of the Imperial money.

### 2. SILVER.

Gaiseric and Huneric (if our attributions may be regarded as certain) each struck an imitative silver coin, apparently the weight of the siliqua, and probably intended to be of the normal weight of 40 grains troy.[1] The third king Gunthamund retained the silver coin (siliqua) but gave it distinctive types; on the *obv.*, his own name and bust; on the *rev.*, the letters DN and ⊂—, i. e. 100 bronze denarii,[2] placed within a wreath. A mark of value surrounded by a wreath had already formed the reverse type of the bronze coins of Huneric (Pl. I. 13). Gunthamund also struck a half-siliqua (17·3 grains, Brit. Mus., highest) and a quarter-siliqua (7·7 grains, Brit. Mus., highest), inscribed on the reverse, D̄N XXV.

Trasamund, the fourth king, besides (if our conjecture is correct) renewing the supply of imitative gold coins, continued the issue of the half-siliqua marked D̄N L (16·8 grains, Brit. Mus., highest).[3]

Hilderic issued the half-siliqua (19·8 grains, Brit. Mus., highest) and the quarter-siliqua (9·3 grs., Brit. Mus.). Gelimer, the last king, also issued the half-siliqua, marked D̄N L.

### 3. BRONZE.

It is probable that Gaiseric issued early in his reign imitative money in bronze, as he seems to have done in the case of his gold and silver currency. Such coins must be looked for among the small bronze pieces described *infra*, pp. 17–42, especially those with 'Victory' types.[4] But bronze did not become an important constituent of the Vandalic currency till the issue of the large thick coins marked XLII and XXI N(ummi), Pl. I. 7, 9, 13, 15; an issue which we have seen reason (*supra*, p. xvii) to attribute to Gaiseric at a time (A. D. 439) when he had first become master of Carthage.[5] These coins, by their module and their value-marks, at

[1] The heaviest specimens in the British Museum weigh only 28·4 and 21 grains, but they are clipped and worn. On the weight of the later Roman siliquae, see G. F. Hill, 'Roman silver coins from Grovely Wood, Wilts.,' in *Num. Chron.*, 1906, pp. 342 f. These are siliquae of the period from Constantius II to Arcadius. On the siliquae of Anastasius I and Justin I see B. M. C., *Imperial Byz. Coins*, i, p. lxxvi: see also Babelon, 'La Silique romaine,' in *Rev. num.*, 1901, p. 334.

[2] See Babelon, loc. cit., and his *Traité*, i, p. 582; Keary, op. cit., pp. 37 f.; Friedlaender, *M. d. Vand.*, pp. 10 f.

[3] He perhaps also continued to issue the siliqua ('100 denarii') and the quarter-siliqua ('25 denarii'): see *infra*, p. 11, note.

[4] And see No. 49, p. 23, *infra*, and No. 52, p. 24, *infra*.

[5] Besides these coinages of XLII and XXI nummi (cp. coins of XII and IIII nummi) there is a coinage which may be assigned to Gaiseric, *circ.* 439 B.C., inscribed on *obv.* DOMINO NOSTRO but with the royal name omitted. The coins thus inscribed are of remarkably neat work and in high relief: see *infra*, 'Small bronze of Vandalic period,' pp. 17 f., Nos. 15, 54, 83, and note to No. 15, p. 19.

once recall the Byzantine bronze *follis*, stamped 40 (M) nummia and its half, stamped 20 (K) nummia.[1] It must be borne in mind, however, that this typical Byzantine coin (with its subdivisions) was not instituted until the year 498, when Anastasius I carried out a great reform of the bronze currency by substituting for the very small, and probably very scarce, bronze coins of earlier reigns, a new and abundant issue of large, substantial-looking coins, each of which conspicuously displayed its value.[2] But the year 498 is long subsequent to the death of Gaiseric and even of Huneric,[3] and the first issue of these XLII and XXI coins—if, as seems probable, rightly attributed to Gaiseric—was a new and original departure in coinage, though it was one, no doubt, suggested to the Vandal ruler by some Roman financier or mint-master at his court.[4]

This issue of XLII and XXI was continued by Gaiseric's successor Huneric, and a bronze piece of XII nummi, first issued by Gaiseric, was also retained. There is, further, a piece of IIII nummi (of Huneric, or Gaiseric ?).

**Weights of the larger bronze coins.**

The weights of these denominations as indicated by specimens in the British Museum are as follows:—

XLII nummi.

*Gaiseric.* Wt. 175 grs., highest (also 174; two about 154).
*Huneric.* Wt. 200·5 grs., highest (others, 182–127 grs.).

XXI

*Gaiseric.* Wt. 146 grs., highest, a thick piece; others are thinner, and weigh 114·7 and 95·8, but may have lost weight.
*Huneric.* Wt. 104·8 grs. (worn).

The highest actual weight of XLII is 200·5 grs., but the weights of XXI point to a normal weight of about 230 or even of nearly 300 grs. ($114 \times 2 = 228$; $146 \times 2 = 292$).

XII

*Gaiseric.* Wt. 86·5 grs., highest (49 grs. lowest).
*Huneric.* Wt. 87·6 grs., highest (also 73, 64·7 grs.).

IIII

*Huneric* (?), 21 grs., highest.

The XII and IIII denominations, as Mommsen has already remarked

[1] 6000 nummia in the Byzantine system went to the *solidus* or *nomisma*.

[2] See Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i, p. xiii, and cp. the interesting interpretation of the passage in Marcellinus (as to the currency reform of Anastasius) given by Prof. Bury in his review in *The English Historical Review* for 1909, p. 117.

[3] It falls within the reign of Trasamund, the fourth king.

[4] This coinage, for fabric and marks of value, should be compared with the Ostrogothic anonymous bronze chiefly struck at Rome (Pl. XIII. 2, XIV. 2).

(*Hist. monn. rom.*, iii, pp. 166, 167), have no connexion metrologically with the XLII and XXI pieces, though, no doubt, all are contemporary issues.

**Later bronze coinage.**

The issue of the XLII, &c., bronze series is presumed to have ceased with Huneric, but it is possible that their place was taken in the next reign (Gunthamund's) by Roman bronze coins, issued two or three centuries earlier, but made current by the impress of the Vandal countermark.[1]

There is no certain evidence that either Gunthamund or his successor Trasamund issued bronze money inscribed with their names,[2] and their coinage is difficult to identify, though it may perhaps be found among 'the small bronze coins of the Vandalic Period' (pp. 17 f., *infra*).

Hilderic and Gelimer, the two last kings, struck small bronze pieces with their names, and their coinage, especially Hilderic's, was probably eked out by some of the uncertain 'Vandalic' pieces. Thus, to Hilderic may belong the small coins which, bearing the name of Justinian I, do not seem to be certainly imperial,[3] and some of the coins with the sacred monogram.[4]

**Vandal coinage and Vandal civilization.**

Before concluding this section something should be said of the coinage in relation to the civilization of the Vandal people and the story of their kings.

The advent of Gaiseric in 429 with the whole host of the Vandals dealt a deadly, if not immediately fatal, blow to Roman civilization in Africa. The kings carved out for themselves a royal domain of vast extent; the Vandal warriors received their 'lots', while the Roman provincial was thrust out or compelled to live in the least fertile regions. Yet the Vandal was in constant contact with a higher culture than his own and with a language that was not his own.[5] Roman law and methods of administration still subsisted side by side with what there was of Vandal legal custom and statecraft, and the general character of the coinage suggests that Roman engravers and financial advisers rendered service at the Vandal mints.[6]

The Roman features of the coinage may be discerned in several ways. The mechanical copying of previously existing Roman coins, such as apparently took place in the reign of Gaiseric and under some of his successors is, indeed, not in itself a proof of deep-seated Roman influence,

[1] See further on these coins p. xviii, *supra*; also on the countermark LXXXIII. The view may also be maintained that these coins were first put into circulation by Gaiseric some time before 439 (?), the date when he probably began to issue his coins with XLII, XII, &c.

[2] See *infra*, p. 9, and p. 12, note 2.

[3] See pp. 28, 29, *infra*.

[4] p. 37, *infra*. Gelimer may have imitated coins with the monogram of Theodosius II (p. 29, *infra*).

[5] Cp. R. W. Church, *Beginning of the Middle Ages* (1895), chap. iii, pp. 66 f.

[6] F. Martroye, *Genseric*, pp. 273, 283.

for such servile borrowing is found on all hands among the various Teutonic invaders of the empire. But the Roman influence is more decisive in such points as details of costume and choice of types. Thus, in Pl. I. 7–11, we have the representation of a warrior who can hardly be any other than a Vandal warrior or a Vandal king, yet he wears not the native, but the Roman costume. And on all the silver coins issued by Gunthamund and his successors, bearing their names and heads, the king has the imperial diadem and the paludamentum and cuirass of a Roman emperor. Latin is adopted for the coin-legends and the king is styled *Dominus noster*, to which is generally added the title *rex*.

If we omit the borrowed types of Gaiseric and those of the more or less barbarous currency of small bronze, it may be said that the range of types is extremely limited, the most distinctive being the mark of value in a wreath (e. g. $\overline{\text{N}}$ XLII; $\overline{\text{DN}}$ XXV) and the female figure holding ears of corn who personifies *Felix Carthago*. And with regard to these types it may be observed that this very conscientious and conspicuous attestation of value both on bronze and silver must almost certainly have been due to the suggestion of a Roman financier, and that the personification of Carthage, and even the epithet *felix*, were derived from Carthaginian coins struck by Diocletian and his successors.[1] In addition to this we may note that the monogram which forms the reverse type of the bronze of Gelimer (Pl. II. 20, 21) was obviously suggested by the coins of the Emperor Zeno or of one of his predecessors, and the massive (though not cumbrous) wreath which gives a touch of ornament to the severe DN of the reverses of Gunthamund and others[2] (Pl. II. 3, 11) was, again, clearly derived from one of those wreaths which form such a frequent decoration of Byzantine monuments—such as sarcophagi at Ravenna—of the fifth and sixth centuries.

The circumstance that the Vandals were already Christians (albeit Arians) when their African kingdom was founded, has left little trace upon the coinage: on the imitative coinage (gold and small bronze) the cross and the sacred monogram are often found, but on what may be called the independent Vandal money perhaps the only Christian emblems are the cross as a reverse type of the small bronze of Hilderic and the small cross which appears (above a mark of value) on a silver coin of Gelimer (Pl. II. 17, 19).

Finally, in regard to style and execution the coins are not, on the whole, discreditable to mints of the fifth and early sixth centuries.[3] The

[1] See p. 6, *infra*.

[2] On Gunthamund's coins with '50'. Those with '100' have a wreath that is not distinctively 'Byzantine'. The wreath was a favourite ornament of the reverses of the Ostrogothic coins.

[3] That is, the 'named' silver and bronze: the imitative gold are more or less barbarous and the small bronze of very varying styles of workmanship.

treatment of the king's head, with its angular delineation of nose and eye, is nearly always careless, if not positively barbarous, and the 'portraits' are, throughout, entirely conventional. But in this respect the portraiture of contemporary emperors on the coinage of Byzantium—Anastasius I, Justin I, and (on part of his money) Justinian I—was no whit superior.[1]

**Coinage of individual Vandal kings. GAISERIC, A.D. 428 (429)–477.**

It is to be regretted that the coinage of Gaiseric is conjectural, because Gaiseric is the one commanding figure among Vandal sovereigns, the great founder of the kingdom and framer of its constitution. Taking the coinage as attributed to him, it seems to indicate that the mint, like the kingdom itself, was organized by slow degrees, and that it was not till the year 439, when the king first gained possession of Carthage, that any attempt at the issue of Vandal money with original types was made. Carthage was the great social, literary, and administrative centre of Africa, and both Gaiseric and Huneric seem to have emphasized its importance on their coins (Pl. I. 7, 13–16).[2]

From his spoliation of Rome in 455 Gaiseric returned laden, not only with spoils of gold and silver (amongst them the sacred vessels of the Temple of Jerusalem), but with a human freight—the Empress Eudoxia and her daughters, and a band of skilful artificers, armourers, and other craftsmen. But nothing was done to improve the coinage in his reign beyond, apparently, the inauguration of the bronze money with value-marks (Pl. I. 7), and even an independent silver currency was not set on foot.

On his bronze coins Gaiseric placed a horse's head—almost certainly as the emblem of Carthage—and another type (already referred to) of a man in Roman costume, intended for a Vandal soldier, or, perhaps, for the Vandal king himself. The descriptions that we have of Gaiseric make him out as lame and insignificant in stature, yet he was long renowned in Vandal tradition as a brave warrior, and was a man of restless energy in war and of extreme craftiness in statesmanship. His long reign of nearly fifty years was followed by the short seven years' rule of his son Huneric, who was married to the Roman princess Eudocia, daughter of that Eudoxia (widow of Valentinian III) whom Gaiseric had borne away from Rome to Carthage. During part of his reign he was a persecutor of the Catholics and of the Manicheans: it is also to be noted that some of the Mauretanian tribes who had been kept in subjection by his father now threw off the yoke.

**HUNERIC, A. D. 477–484.**

In the coinage he appears to have followed the traditions of Gaiseric, but on the large bronze money he changed the types, introducing the

[1] See Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i, p. lxxxviii. Such portraits as are found on Ostrogothic coins are distinctly superior to those on the Vandal money.

[2] Cp. p. 19, No. 15, *infra*.

personification of Carthage, displaying ears of corn in her hands (Pl. I. 13). This representation of 'Carthage' was borrowed from Imperial coins, and had had its origin at a time when the province of Africa was the granary of Italy. On Huneric's coins such a type was significant to the Vandals only, for Gaiseric, who had created a fleet which was the terror of the Mediterranean, had long since cut off Italy from its old-established sources of corn-supply.

Huneric was succeeded by his nephew Gunthamund, the events of whose reign are of no great importance. The persecution of the Catholics ceased or was greatly relaxed. The attacks of the Mauretanians continued. But Gunthamund was chiefly concerned with Sicilian affairs. The founder of the Vandal kingdom had won for his successors the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, and had gained at least a foothold in the fair island of Sicily. Gunthamund now endeavoured to establish his rule in the coveted land; but he failed completely, and was compelled by Theodoric the Ostrogoth (A. D. 491) to renounce his claim to tribute from Sicily.

**GUNTHAMUND, A. D. 484–496.**

In the currency he made, as we have seen, an important innovation by introducing the silver coinage marked with its value in bronze denarii —a coinage which served as the model for his successors.

Gunthamund's successor was his brother Trasamund, an attractive figure among Vandal kings—handsome and cultured, virtuous and intelligent. His reign lasted for twenty-seven years, and the leading idea of his policy was an alliance with the brilliant Theodoric, whose sister Amalafrida he married (A. D. 500).

**TRASAMUND, A. D. 496–523.**

In this reign we hear much of the risings of the Mauri and other tribes who gained territory at the expense of the Vandals, and the chieftain Masuna—'rex Maurorum et Romanorum,'—to whom, as well as to the Moorish tribes generally, we have found reason to attribute small bronze coins of rude workmanship,[1] flourished in the time of Trasamund.

Trasamund's coinage is on the model of his predecessor's, but he seems to have reinforced the currency of gold, apparently first introduced by Gaiseric, by striking solidi and tremisses imitative of the coins of the Emperor Anastasius I, his contemporary.

The throne was next occupied by Hilderic, the son of Huneric the second king. He came late to his inheritance, and was about sixty-six at the time of his accession. Contrary to his promise to Trasamund, Hilderic favoured the Catholics and reversed Trasamund's external policy by breaking with the Ostrogoths and by allying himself with the court of Byzantium. The emperors of the period were, first, Justin I, and then Justinian I;

**HILDERIC, A. D. 523–530.**

[1] p. xx, *supra*.

and Hilderic seems to have placed the head of Justin on some of his silver coins,[1] and possibly that of Justinian on small bronze coins.[2] He, moreover, partly discarded the mark of value which formed the reverse type of his predecessor's coins, and revived the personification of *Felix Carthago*. He struck small bronze coins with his own name and with a cross on the reverse, one of the very few religious types to be found on the Vandal coinage.

During the last five years of his reign the Mauri appear to have gained control over Mauretania and Southern Numidia, and, at last, a defeat of Hilderic's troops by the Mauri and the general unpopularity of his religious and foreign policy led to his deposition on 19 May, 530, and the enthronement of Gelimer, the nephew of Gunthamund, and a great-grandson of Gaiseric.

**GELIMER, A. D. 530–533.**

Gelimer in his earlier years had a reputation for bravery, but his character was not a strong one, and as a ruler he fell on difficult times. Justinian had already in view his great scheme for regaining the lost provinces of the empire—Africa (with Corsica and Sardinia), Sicily, and, finally, Italy. The dethronement of his ally Hilderic gave him a ready pretext for intervention in Vandal affairs; and by the end of June, 533, the imperial fleet under Belisarius had sailed from Byzantium. Africa was reached in September: on the thirteenth of the month, the battle of Decimum was fought and won by the Imperialists, and on the fifteenth Belisarius entered Carthage. The victory of Tricamarum in December and the flight of Gelimer, brought the Vandal kingdom to an end. It had lasted about a hundred years; but, at last, almost suddenly vanished, leaving behind singularly few traces of its existence. Vandal and Roman civilization had never, in fact, completely coalesced, as might have been the case had Gaiseric been Theodoric; nor, on the other hand, had the Vandals been able to lay the foundations of a kingdom on a Teutonic basis, like the Franks and the Lombards.[3]

Of Gelimer, the last king, we have only to add that he surrendered in the spring of 534; was led in triumph through Constantinople by Belisarius, and was finally allowed to retire to Galatia. For the currency of his short reign he continued the silver money of his predecessor, but removed from it the 'Carthage' type that Hilderic had reintroduced. He struck a small bronze coin with his name and with a monogram (of his own name) on the reverse. This monogrammatic reverse had been employed by some of the Constantinopolitan emperors (as by Zeno), and became especially characteristic of the coinage of the Ostrogoths.

The coinage of Justinian, the new master of Africa, began (at Carthage) in 534 or, possibly, at the end of 533. Descriptions of it may be found in the British Museum Catalogue of *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i, pp. 63–9. Some of his silver coins (Nos. 350–4) recall those of Gelimer and

[1] p. 13, *infra*. [2] p. xvii, *supra*. [3] Schmidt, *Gesch. d. Wandalen*, p. 99.

Gelimer's predecessors, but he entirely reorganized the bronze coinage on the Byzantine system introduced by Anastasius I.

## § 2. Coinage of the Ostrogoths.

**Study of the Ostrogothic coinage.**

The coinage of the Ostrogoths was made the subject of a scholarly monograph, *Die Münzen der Ostgothen*, published by Julius Friedlaender in 1844, and Mr. Keary has devoted to it a section of his *Coinages of Western Europe*. Not many coins that are entirely new have come to light since these essays were written, but there is still ample room for further discussion as to date, attribution, and place of issue.

The coins that hitherto have been most fully studied are those silver and bronze pieces which bear the names or monograms of Ostrogothic rulers; but besides these there is extant a great mass of gold, silver, and bronze money which is of Italian, and probably of Ostrogothic, origin, though inscribed only with the name of a Roman Emperor. The late Count de Salis had separated many specimens of this series from the Byzantine Imperial coins, and classed them (in the British Museum collection) as 'Italian'. In a few cases he appears to have discriminated between an 'early' and a 'late' class, but he has made no precise allocations and has unfortunately left no notes as to the considerations—such as those of provenance—that guided him in his classification. In a separate section on 'the attribution of Italian coins with Imperial names' (*infra*, p. xlv) I have endeavoured, as far as the evidence allows, to attribute these coins to the various Ostrogothic Kings.

In addition to these imitative Imperial coins, there is a somewhat large class of *anonymous* bronze pieces of XL nummi and lesser value (Pl. XII–XIV), which have been generally recognized as belonging to the Ostrogoths, though their dates and mint-places have been little discussed. In the text (*infra*, pp. 98 f.) an attempt has been made to attribute the coins of this class more definitely than heretofore.

**ODOVACAR, 23 Aug. 476–15 Mar. 493.**[1]

Under Odovacar (the leader of the Herulian mercenaries who revolted from the Imperial service) Italy became a Teutonic kingdom—like Spain and Africa[2]—and the last Emperor of the West was deposed. Yet there was still a Roman Emperor—the Emperor at Constantinople, 'the greatest and most majestic personage in the world.'[3] His suzerainty was in

[1] For the history of Italy during this period and the following Ostrogothic and Imperial periods see chiefly Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vols. ii, iii, and iv, and authorities there; Bury, *Hist. of later Roman Empire*, i; H. Bradley, *The Goths*, London, 1888; L. Schmidt, *Gesch. d. deutschen Stämme*, pt. i, Books 2 and 3; Leuthold, *Untersuchungen*, &c.

[2] Bury, *Hist. of later Rom. Empire*, i, p. 278.

[3] Church, *The Beginning of the Middle Ages*, p. 38.

some sort acknowledged even in Italy, and Roman law and Roman methods of administration still held their own, though the invaders seized one-third of the land.

Odovacar, like his predecessors the Emperors of the West, fixed his capital at Ravenna, and it was there that he issued silver and bronze[1] coins with his own name.

The gold coins that he appears to have minted were solidi and tremisses bearing the name and types of the Emperor Zeno, who had, indeed, recognized him as 'Patrician'. And it was in the reign of Odovacar that the city of Rome, which was no doubt left, as was the case under later rulers, in a state of semi-independence, probably issued, through its Senate, large bronze coins bearing the head of Zeno, a figure of Victory, and the legend IMVICTA ROMA.[2]

The relations of Odovacar and Zeno began to be unfriendly from the year 486,[3] and it may have been in this year or a little later that Odovacar first struck the silver and bronze coins with his own name and portrait. Yet, on the other hand, there is a difficulty in supposing that during the ten years that elapsed between his accession and 486 this ruler made no attempt to issue bronze coins and that his silver coinage (if our attribution is correct) was confined to the imitation of Zeno's silver.[4] Moreover, Odovacar's issue of coins with his own name was not necessarily a sign of revolt, for he does not place his name on the gold coins, which would have offended the Imperial prerogative or the commercial convention of his time, but his portrait appears only on his silver and bronze, and even on these without the title of king,[5] nor does he wear the regal diadem. Probably he appears as Odovacar the Patrician. These coins, then, may have been issued in the early years of his reign, though not necessarily at the time of his accession.

The head of Odovacar (Pl. V. 7–8) was probably modelled on the head of Zeno (Pl. V. 6[6]), yet it has at least the semblance of a portrait: the face is beardless, but the engraver has been careful not to omit Odovacar's thick yellow moustache.[7]

[1] See the bronze, p. 45, *infra*. The name of Odoacer has also been read on a rude bronze coin of the 'Vandalic' class, but I share the apparent doubts of P. Orsi (*Rivista ital. di num.*, 1910, p. 356) as to the correctness of this reading.

[2] Pl. XII. 20–3 and pp. 100 f., *infra*.

[3] Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c., iii, p. 149.

[4] Pl. V. 6; p. 44, *infra*, No. 8.

[5] The inscription is simply FL. ODOVAC. On his title of Rex or Rex Gothorum see Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c., ii, p. 529; Friedlaender, *Münzen der Vandalen*, p. 59. Cassiodorus says: 'Nomenque regis Odoacer adsumpsit, cum tamen nec purpura nec regalibus uteretur insignibus.'

[6] As found on the silver coin probably issued by Odovacar, *infra*, p. 44, No. 8.

[7] Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c., ii, p. 515.

The indication of the king's name by means of a monogram (Pl. V. 7) was no doubt suggested by the bronze coins of Zeno and his predecessors. It became a favourite reverse type of the Ostrogothic coins, and when encircled by a massive wreath has a good decorative effect.

In the coinage of the great Theodoric, who finally overthrew Odovacar in 493 and established the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy, we may trace the influence of that *civilitas* which was the ideal of his enlightened rule: *regnum nostrum*, he somewhat quaintly wrote, through his secretary Cassiodorus, to the Emperor Anastasius, *imitatio vestri*.[1] At least, it was to be a German kingdom, or one among a European federation of German kingdoms, absorbing all that was good in the ancient civilization of the Empire.[2]

**THEODORIC, son of Theudemir, March, 493–30 Aug. 526.**

The coins of his long reign of thirty-three years (Pl. V. 14–21; VI; VII. 1–15) are singularly neat and even elegant, and he set the fashion for his successors. His gold coinage is, as regards types and inscriptions, a reproduction of the contemporary Imperial money, but the obverses of the tremisses are of quite delicate workmanship. His silver coins (of the Ravenna mint) show a well-modelled bust of the emperor in somewhat high relief, and on the reverse, placed within a wreath, his own monogram (Pl. VII. 6–13), which resembles that still to be seen at Ravenna on the huge capitals of the columns from his Basilica of Hercules.[3]

Unlike some of his successors, and his predecessor Odovacar, Theodoric issued his silver and bronze coins without any portrait-head of himself. The same is true also of his gold coinage: only on the exceptional triple solidus[4] do we find his head accompanied by the words *Rex Theodericus pius princis*. This precious relic of Romano-Gothic art, which some ancient possessor has set as a brooch,[5] is known only in a single example, of which Comm. F. Gnecchi, the Italian numismatist, is the fortunate owner. In spite of its rarity it was perhaps intended for currency, for it is equivalent in weight to three solidi, and a bronze weight marked with this denomination and with Theodoric's name is preserved in the British Museum.[6] Probably, however, it was made on some special occasion, to serve as a present or an offering, and issued in small numbers. Theodoric

[1] Quoted by Bury, *Hist. later Rom. Emp.*, i. p. 381.

[2] Theodoric allied himself by marriage with the Vandals and the Franks. At the same time he was familiar with Roman ideas and manners on account of his education as a youth at the Court of Byzantium.

[3] Diehl, *Ravenne* (1903), fig. p. 42, and p. 44. Theodoric's monogram which he placed on his *gold* coins, to differentiate them from the Imperial gold coins, is of a different form.

[4] Frontispiece, and p. 54, *infra*.

[5] In our photograph the setting still to be seen on the original has been omitted for the sake of effect.

[6] See Dalton, cited *infra*, p. 54.

might place his head on a piece of this exceptional character, but commercial convenience and old-established usage (not unmingled with reverence for the Imperial effigy) would have precluded him from placing any head but an emperor's[1] on the solidi and tremisses—the ordinary currency of gold. As it is, the head is (like Odovacar's) without the royal or Imperial diadem, nor is it surmounted by a crown, such as Theodahad and Baduila, his later successors, assumed on their coins. The moustache and the treatment of the hair justify the belief that the bust is a portrait, or at least an attempted portrait, of Theodoric. The type is interesting, moreover, because it is much more than the mere conventional head or bust found on the Imperial coinage: it may almost be described as a half-length figure, for each of the hands is displayed—one raised, as if in the *adlocutio*, the other holding the globus upon which stands Victory. It may well be surmised that we have here a reproduction of the upper part of an actual statue or mosaic picture of Theodoric, and there is a record of the existence of statues or colossal figures of him at Rome, Ravenna, Ticinum, and all the chief cities of Italy.[2]

Theodoric's coins were issued at Rome, under at least the nominal authority of the Senate,[3] no less than at Ravenna (Milan, for gold, is his only other mint-place[4]), and the Roman quasi-autonomous coinage of bronze assigned to his reign (Pl. XIII, XIV) is especially interesting, for it displays a bust of *Invicta Roma*, the Roman eagle, a fig-tree and two eagles,[5] and the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus.[6] The occasion of the issue of some at any rate of these coins may be conjectured to have been the visit paid by Theodoric to the Eternal City in A. D. 500, at which time he remained there six months. He was welcomed by the Pope, the Senate, and the people, exhibited the games of the Circus, and furnished ample funds for the annual supply of grain to the populace and for the restoration of the walls.[7]

[1] See the passage in Procopius commented on *supra*, § 1, p. xxi.

[2] Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c., iii, p. 306; Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages* (Eng. trans.), i, p. 337. Among the figures or statues were:—at *Naples*, a mosaic εἰκών—a full-length figure—Procop., *Bell. Goth.*, i. 24; Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c., iv. 217; at *Ravenna*, a colossal figure (apparently mosaic) of Theodoric as an armed horseman (Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 306). This could not—from the position of the hands—be the figure on the triple solidus; at *Rome*, a gilded statue erected by the Senate. Cp. Stückelberg in *Rivista ital. di num.*, 1898, p. 66.

[3] The silver coin, Pl. VII. 5, *rev.* Victory, is inscribed S C, and S C appears later on the Roman coins of Athalaric.

[4] The coins used in Theodoric's dominions in Provence have not, I believe, been identified. If a currency distinct from the Ostrogothic pieces of Italy, they would be solidi and tremisses imitated from the coins of the emperors. All the Ostrogothic possessions in Gaul were surrendered to the Franks by Witigis.

[5] *Infra*, p. 103, note 2.

[6] The *Lupercalia* was still celebrated at Rome in Theodoric's reign: see *infra*, p. 105 n.

[7] Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c., iii, pp. 265, 266, quoting the *Anonymus Valesii*. Theodoric also

Theodoric died in August, 526, after a reign which, in various aspects and on a smaller scale, recalls the rule of some of the best emperors of Rome and the ideals of Charles the Great. But he left no efficient successor. After his death the government was carried on by his daughter Amalasuntha, as regent for her son Athalaric, then a boy of ten. Amalasuntha had a genuine love of Latin science and literature, and possessed a sympathetic minister in Cassiodorus. But the Goths complained that she was educating Athalaric effeminately and too much in the Roman manner. He was removed from her care, grew up vicious and idle, and died in the year 534.

**AMALASUNTHA, regent, 31 Aug. 526–2 Oct. 534; queen, 534–30 Apr. 535.**

All the coins of this period (A. D. 526–534) are struck in the name of Athalaric,[1] but the issues—at least the earlier ones—must have been made under the authority of Amalasuntha. Though the gold coinage is not so well executed as in the reign of Theodoric, the ordinary Ravenna coins show no falling off. The small bronze coins of Rome are of particular elegance, and we may remember that Amalasuntha encouraged professors to settle in Rome and was concerned for the welfare of the citizens. The obverse of these coins (Pl. VIII. 21–5) shows a richly decorated bust of 'Invicta Roma', and the reverse, a new type, namely, a figure of Athalaric represented as an armed warrior with spear and oval shield.

**ATHALARIC, 526–2 Oct. 534.**

After the death of Athalaric, Amalasuntha continued to rule as queen, but no coins bearing her name are known. Soon, however, she invited Theodahad to share her throne with the 'nominal' title of king. Theodahad was the nephew of Theodoric, a lover of ancient learning and the owner of nearly all the land in Tuscany. But in character he was vacillating, cowardly, and avaricious. The marriage and regal partnership of the pair was solemnly announced to the Emperor (Justinian) and to the Senate of Rome, but Theodahad was determined to be no phantom ruler. In the spring of 535 Amalasuntha was seized by his orders and imprisoned in an island of the Lake of Bolsena, and shortly afterwards put to death.

**THEODAHAD, 534–Nov. (?) 536.**

Theodahad was thus left sole ruler, but he had furnished a pretext to Justinian for invading Italy. Amalasuntha had been the friend and ally of the Emperor, and, with the declared object of avenging her death, the Imperial expedition under Belisarius left Constantinople in the summer of 535. By the end of the year Sicily had submitted to Belisarius: in the

visited Rome in A. D. 519 when Eutharic, who was married to his daughter Amalasuntha, was given the Consulship. On this occasion wild beast shows took place in the amphitheatre.

[1] That is, of course, when they are not anonymous or imitative (like the gold coins) of the Imperial money.

following year (536) he took Naples, and in December was in possession of Rome. A little before this (apparently in November) the Goths had dethroned the worthless Theodahad and installed Witigis, one of his officers, in his place.

Theodahad's Ravenna coins are of the ordinary character, though their obverses (the head of Justinian) show some falling off in care of execution. But at Rome he issues, through the Senate, one of the most interesting and artistic coins in the Ostrogothic series (Pl. IX. 13–18). The Victory on the reverse is imitated from a quasi-autonomous bronze coin of Rome, probably struck by Theodoric. On the obverse is a bust of the king, *Dn. Theodahatus rex*, with a head neither bare nor bound with a diadem, but wearing a closed crown ornamented with jewels and two stars. His robe is also richly ornamented with jewels and a cross. The hair is cut short; the face beardless, but with a moustache such as has been seen already on the portrait coins of Odovacar and Theodoric. The modelling is good, and there is no reason, considering the general skill brought to bear on the production of this coin, why we should not regard the head as a true portrait, though it may indeed be doubtful whether we can, with a modern writer on the Goths,[1] discern in it the 'mixture of knavery, folly, and cowardice' which partly composed Theodahad's character. It is interesting to have some clue as to the object with which the king's portrait was placed on the coins from the words that Cassiodorus, the state-secretary, puts into the mouth of the Ostrogothic king. It is a duty of the Comes (Sacrarum Largitionum), declares the king, to see that 'our face is imprinted on our coins, a reminder to our subjects of our ceaseless care on their behalf and a memorial of our reign to future ages'.[2]

The date of this remarkable coin, of which a good many specimens are still extant, is not quite easily determined. The idea that naturally occurs is that it was struck at the time of Theodahad's accession, i. e. about Oct. 534, and the inscription of the reverse, *Victoria Principum* (not *Principis*), if it is to be referred, as Mr. Hodgkin has suggested,[3] to Theodahad and his queen Amalasuntha, would fix the coin to a date not later than April, 535, when Amalasuntha died. But one may feel some doubt as to whether the meaning of *Principum* is to be pressed, seeing that we constantly find on the gold coins of this age the legend *Victoria Augustorum*, even when a sole emperor (as Justinian) occupies the throne. It may be preferable, then, to assign this coin not to the time of Theoda-

[1] H. Bradley, *The Goths*, p. 220.

[2] Cassiodorus, *Variae*, vi. 7 (Hodgkin, *Letters of Cassiodorus*). Book vi, in which this passage occurs, stands before the matters relating to Athalaric's reign, and it may be that the formula is to be attributed to Theodoric; but it much better suits Theodahad, because Theodoric did not place his portrait on his ordinary coins but only on the exceptional triple solidus.

[3] *Italy, &c.*, iii, p. 651.

had's accession, but to the occasion when he visited Rome in Jan. 536.[1] Had the coin been struck at the time of the king's accession (534), it would almost certainly have borne the head of Justinian, but in 536, when the Ostrogoths are at war with Justinian, the appearance of their own king's portrait-head is not surprising. And it has been remarked[2] that during his reign Theodahad had played a double part: on the one hand, entering into treacherous negotiations with Justinian for the surrender of his Italian kingdom; on the other, pretending to act as champion of his Gothic and Roman subjects; and it may be in the latter capacity that his head appears upon these coins.

**WITIGIS, Nov. (?) 536–March (?) 540.**

Witigis, the supplanter of Theodahad, was not connected with the line of the great Theodoric, and it was no doubt to make good this deficiency that early in his reign (Dec.? 536) he forced into a marriage with himself Matasuntha, the young and beautiful daughter of Queen Amalasuntha, and thus the granddaughter of Theodoric and the sister of King Athalaric.

Belisarius was now in possession of Rome, and Witigis with 15,000 Goths began in 537 his memorable siege, which he was compelled to abandon (March, 538) after it had lasted for more than a year. The arrival in Italy of an Imperialist army under Narses inflicted a fresh blow on the Ostrogoths, who were badly beaten (A. D. 538) at the battle of Ticinum (Pavia), and were only just able to take refuge in Ticinum, a city which, as their treasury and arsenal, was hardly less important to them than Ravenna.

Finally, in the spring of 540, Ravenna opened its gates to Belisarius, and Witigis and Matasuntha were seized and taken by Belisarius in triumph to Constantinople.

The coinage of Witigis is of the ordinary Ostrogothic type. His only mint is Ravenna, and he did not follow Theodahad's precedent of placing his own head on the coins, the head represented being that of Justinian. The only innovation that he makes, if our attribution is correct,[3] is in the series of silver coins, on which the place of his own name or monogram is taken by the monogram of Theodoric.

The gold coinage that may be assigned to his reign is of the usual types, with the name of Justinian. Much of it may have been needed when, at the beginning of his reign, he secured a treaty of peace with the Franks by a large payment of gold, estimated at £80,000, and by the surrender of Provence and Dauphiné, the Ostrogothic possessions in Gaul.

[1] Cp. H. Leuthold, *Untersuchungen zur ostgotischen Geschichte*, Jena, 1908, p. 33: the chronology of Theodahad is discussed in this pamphlet.

[2] Leuthold, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[3] See *infra*, p. l.

**MATASUNTHA, 536–March (?) 540.**

The existence of coins bearing the name (in monogram) of Matasuntha, and issued (as is generally and most naturally assumed to be the case) during the period 536–540, when she reigned as the queen of Witigis, is somewhat remarkable. At least, it is not usual to find the coins of a king and queen issued separately, and indeed of the earlier Ostrogothic queens we possess no coins at all. Thus Amalasuntha was regent for her youthful son Athalaric, but the coinage was issued in the son's name, not in the mother's; nor did she strike coins after her son's death, or when she invited Theodahad to share her throne.

It may, however, be said that the great importance attached by Witigis to the legitimization of his claim to the throne by his marriage to Theodoric's granddaughter induced him to put forth coins with her name; and, as her name could not well be united with his on the same coin (the obverse being, by custom, devoted to the head of the emperor), king and queen had each their separate coin-designs. It would have been with the same intention that Witigis issued silver coins bearing the monogram of Theodoric.

No. 1, p. 80, *infra* (Pl. X. 11), was apparently issued at Ravenna, but Nos. 2–5 (Pl. X. 12–14) cannot, for reasons of style, be attributed to that mint. I have suggested (*infra*, pp. 80, 81) that Nos. 2–5, together with the bronze coin No. 6 (Pl. X. 15), were minted at Ticinum, either at the time of the marriage of Matasuntha (536) or, perhaps, after the battle of Ticinum in 538.

But there is another possible alternative. Friedlaender (*Münzen d. Ostgothen*, p. 42) has raised the question whether Matasuntha's coins may not have been struck many years after she had ceased to reign in Italy; but he has raised the question only to negative it without discussion. Now, if we examine Nos. 2–5 (Pl. X. 12–14), we must admit there is nothing distinctively Italian about them: so far as style is concerned they might well have been struck at Constantinople. The bronze coin No. 6 (Pl. X. 15), again, though, as regards its reverse, of a more Italian appearance, is yet of a size and denomination not usual in the Ostrogothic coinage of the period of Witigis, and is apparently intended to correspond to the twenty-nummi pieces (marked K) familiar at the Imperial mints.

The only occasion when such coins could have been struck at Constantinople was in the year 550, when Justinian prepared a new expedition for the conquest of Italy, headed by his nephew Germanus, who was to be accompanied by Matasuntha, she (after the death in 542 of Witigis) having become the wife of Germanus. Justinian's idea was to unite (through Matasuntha) the house of Theodoric with his own, and to govern Italy—in a way likely to be acceptable to its mixed population—by a Gotho-Roman line.[1] Great enthusiasm for the expedition prevailed; but

[1] Bury, *Hist. of Later Roman Empire*, i, p. 411.

it was at first diverted to Thessalonica, and finally rendered abortive by the death of Germanus. This incident in the life of Matasuntha deserves attention, though it would, no doubt, be hazardous (without further evidence) to maintain that the coins under discussion were actually minted at the Byzantine capital in order to support—and at the same time to authenticate—the pretensions of Germanus to become ruler of Italy.

**ILDIBAD, spring (?) 540 –May (?) 541.**

Ildibad, the son of Theudis King of the Visigoths, was chosen king in place of Witigis. He gained a great victory over the Imperialists near Treviso in the autumn (?) of 540, but was assassinated in the spring of the following year.

**ERARIC, May (?) 541 –Sept. (?) 541.**

Eraric was then set up as king by the Rugians, but was not accepted by all the Ostrogoths. He, too, was assassinated after a few months' reign. Neither Ildibad nor Eraric would appear to have issued coins.

**BADUILA (TOTILA), Sept. (?) 541 –July or Aug. 552.**

These ephemeral rulers were succeeded by the nephew of Ildibad, Baduila (otherwise known as Totila [1]), the only Ostrogothic king, besides Theodoric, of remarkable character. Baduila was an able statesman and a chivalrous soldier, and during his eleven years' reign displayed the same ideals of kingship and justice as Theodoric himself.

His victories over the Imperialists at Faenza and Mugello were followed by the submission of Central and Southern Italy and the surrender of Naples (543). In 545 he laid formal siege to Rome, which he entered in December, 546, only, however, to evacuate the deserted city. Rome, reoccupied by Belisarius in 547, was again recovered in 549 by Baduila, who now in part rebuilt it, restoring the banished senators and celebrating the Games. It was probably in this year that those Roman coins of Baduila that are of Roman fabric and style were struck: on the obverse (Pl. XI. 29, 30) he placed his own head, crowned; on the reverse, an armed figure of himself, modelled on the older Roman coins of Athalaric. The legend on these coins, apparently referring to Roma,[2] is *Floreas semper*. The letters S C (*Senatus consulto*) do not occur on the reverse of this coin, though they had appeared on the coins of Athalaric which served as its model. One can hardly say whether the omission is accidental or intentional; for though the Roman senators had originally been exiled from the city by Baduila, he afterwards showed them favour and brought them back in 549. The Senate, it may be observed, still continued in existence to the end of the fifth century, and indeed made a last appearance in 603 to acclaim the statue of the Emperor Phocas.[3]

But the arrival of Narses was soon to change the fortunes of the

[1] On his coins he is always *Baduila* or *Baduela*.

[2] *Infra*, p. 93 n.

[3] Diehl, *L'Exarchat de Ravenne*, p. 125.

Ostrogoths, and in 552 the general inflicted on them a great defeat in the battle of the Apennines, and Baduila was mortally wounded.

During the whole of the reign of Baduila, Ravenna was in the hands of the Imperialists. We may readily assume, therefore, that his chief mint was at Ticinum, and this supposition is confirmed by the appearance of the personification of *Felix Ticinus* on one of his bronze coins (Pl. XI. 22). Yet it is not improbable that he occasionally set up mints elsewhere as his conquests progressed, as for example at Naples after its surrender in 543. At Rome the only Ostrogothic issue appears, as we have just seen, to have taken place in 549.

Baduila's coins may be divided broadly into three classes: (i) with the head of Justinian I; (ii) with the head of Anastasius I; (iii) with the head of the king himself. Examples of the first class are very rare: probably the head of Justinian was for political reasons soon rejected, and that of Anastasius, the contemporary of Theodoric, substituted. Like Theodahad, Baduila placed his own head upon his coins, and not only on the Roman issue but on the ordinary regal issue of Ticinum. Pl. XI. 13, a diademed head in profile, is, however, a portrait merely in name, so closely is it imitated from the head of Anastasius. The bronze coins (Ticinum and Rome) show the king's bust *facing*, probably in accordance with a fashion made popular by Justinian's coins since A. D. 538. Like Theodahad, he wears an embroidered robe and a closed crown decorated with panels and sometimes with stars (Pl. XI. 25). The coins are neatly executed, but the attempt at portraiture is evidently less successful than in the case of Theodahad.[1]

The Goths at Ticinum crowned as their king Baduila's general Theia.[2] We hear that he expended the treasure stored in that city in an attempt to win over the Franks to the Ostrogothic cause. His coins—all evidently struck at Ticinum—consist apparently only of gold tremisses of rough workmanship, and of silver half siliquae and quarter siliquae, of the usual types, but of very careless, and sometimes of almost barbarous execution.

**THEIA, July or Aug. 552–553.**

Theia perished in 553 in the prolonged battle of Mons Lactarius, in which the Imperialists crushed the Ostrogothic host. All resistance did not cease even then, but soon after the battle the remnant of the great army left Italy for ever, passing over the Alps to be 'swallowed up in we know not what morass of Gepid, of Herulian, of Slavonic barbarism'.[3]

A Roman emperor was once again master of Italy, with Ravenna and

[1] Baduila, unlike Odovacar, Theodoric, and Theodahad, is represented without a moustache.

[2] As to the form of his name see *infra*, p. 96, note 4.

[3] Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c., iv, p. 657.

Rome as his mint-places.[1] But after the lapse of only fourteen years, a new phase opens with the invasion of the Lombards (A. D. 568), described in the third section of this Introduction.

## Denominations and Weights.

### GOLD.

**Gold.**

The solidi and tremisses issued by Odovacar and by the Ostrogothic kings are throughout the whole period of their rule not inferior in weight, nor, apparently, in quality, to the Imperial coins from which they were imitated. The solidus weighs rather more than 68 grains and the tremissis over 22 grains.

A solidus of Theodoric, marked with his monogram, attains 69 grains, and the only solidus of Baduila in the British Museum is of the same weight. The very latest gold coins, namely the tremisses attributed to Theia, weigh 22·7 grains and 23 grains. The triple solidus of Theodoric is probably an exceptional issue (see *supra*, p. xxxi).

### SILVER.

**Silver.**

The coins in this metal are half siliquae and quarter siliquae[2] chiefly struck at Ravenna. It will be seen from the following list of the highest weights of specimens in the British Museum that the half siliqua weighs over 21 grains and the quarter siliqua more than 10 or 11 grains :—

| King | ½ Siliqua | ¼ Siliqua |
|---|---|---|
| Theodoric (Ravenna) | 23·7 | 11·4 |
| ,, (Rome) | | 13·7 |
| Athalaric (Ravenna) | 21·4 | 11·2 |
| Theodahad (Ravenna) | 21·5 | 11·4 |
| Witigis (Ravenna) | 22·6 | 11·1 |
| Matasuntha (Ravenna) | 21·1 | |
| ,, (Ticinum) | 18·9 | |
| Baduila (Ticinum) | 21·7 | 9·5 |
| Theia (Ticinum) | 22·2 | 9·5[3] |

[1] For the Imperial coins of Justinian I struck at Ravenna after the Ostrogothic overthrow see Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i, pp. 70, 71, and *infra*, pp. xlvii, xlviii, 113 f., and for Ravenna coins of his successor Justin II see *infra*, pp. 120 f. As to the Roman mint see this Introduction, *infra*, p. liii.

[2] On the denominations and weights see Babelon in *Revue numismatique*, 1901, p. 334, and his *Traité*, i, p. 582; Mommsen, *Hist. mon. rom.*, iii, p. 165.

The Imperial silver coins struck at Ravenna by Justinian weigh, according to specimens in the British Museum:—CN ('250'), 21 grains; PKE ('125'), 11·3 grains; PK ('120'), 10·4 grains, all highest weights. The weights of various other specimens are by Luschin von Ebengreuth in *Der Denar der Lex Salica*, Wien, 1910, pp. 3, 6.

## BRONZE.

We may notice first the thick coins struck at Rome of the value of XL and XX nummi (Pl. XII. 20–3; XIII; XIV. 1–7):—

**Bronze. Heavy coins of XL nummi, &c.**

ODOVACAR:—XL. *Rev.* Victory. Size, 1·15. Weights over 200 grs.; highest, 283·6 and 306.

THEODORIC and ATHALARIC:—XL. *Rev.* Eagle. Size, 1·1, or a little smaller. Weights, well over 100 grs.; highest, 177·2, 183, 215·8 grs.

XX. *Rev.* Eagles and tree. Size, ·85. Weights, 115·3, 129, 167·4.

XL. *Rev.* Wolf and Twins. Size, 1·05. Weight, over 200 grs., usually rather over 230 grs.; highest, 236·6 grs.

XX. *Rev.* Wolf and Twins. Size, ·8–·95. Weights, under 200 grs.; highest, 126·2 grs.

THEODAHAD:—[XL.] *Obv.* Bust of Theodahad (Pl. IX. 13–18). Size, 1·05. Weight, 181·7, highest; well preserved.

MATASUNTHA:—20 nummi (?). Size, ·85. Weight, 87 grs.: see *infra*, p. 81.[1]

The 'workaday' currency in bronze probably consisted mainly of small pieces, of which the X nummus piece was the highest denomination.

**Lighter Coins of X Nummi, &c.**

Size, from ·65 to ·85. Weight, usually over 60 grs.; highest, 69·6 grs.

There was also a V nummus piece, and a smaller coin, size about ·4, which at first sight might be taken for the nummus, but which, as it often weighs from 12 to 15 grains, and even reaches 16 grains, must be intended for a higher denomination, probably $2\frac{1}{2}$ nummi. It is not improbable (as suggested *infra*, pp. li f.) that the coinage was further supplemented in the time of Theodoric, and long after, by the circulation of a number of small pieces with the names of the Emperors Leo I, Zeno, Anastasius I, &c. The actual issuers of these coins, however, were probably the Vandals.

### ODOVACAR.

*Ravenna.* Small bronze. Size, ·4. Weights, 14·4 and 21·6 grs.

### THEODORIC.

*Ravenna.* Small Æ. *Rev.* Star. Size, ·35. Wt., 17·6, highest.

„ Є (5 nummi). Size, ·6. Wt., 34·1, highest.

[1] Imperial 40-nummi (M) pieces of Justinian I, struck at Rome:—Sizes, 1·05–1·15. Weight of the well-executed coins of thick fabric, 207·2 to 311·4 grs., highest. The specimens of thinner fabric and inferior workmanship weigh less than 200 grs.; highest, 163·8 grs. The weight of the corresponding 20-nummi pieces is usually over 100 grs.; highest, 134·5 grs.; sizes, ·85–·9.

*Ravenna.* V (5 nummi). Sizes, ·45–·55. Wt., 32·3, highest.

„ [X nummi.] *Obv.* Felix Ravenna (p. 106, *infra*, No. 34). Size, ·7. Wt., 60 grs., highest.

ATHALARIC.

*Ravenna.* X nummi. *Obv.* Head of Justinian. Size, ·75. Wt., 60·5 grs., highest.

*Ravenna.* V nummi. *Obv.* Head of Justinian. Size, ·45. Wt., 15·8 (only one specimen in Brit. Mus.).

*Ravenna.* Small Æ (2½ nummi?). Size, ·4. Wt., 12 to 15 grs.; highest, 16·4 grs.

*Ravenna.* [X nummi.] *Obv.* Invicta Roma. Size, ·75. Wt., 50·5 grs., highest.

*Ravenna.* V nummi. *Obv.* Invicta Roma. Size, ·5. Wt., 24·7 grs., highest.

*Ravenna.* [X nummi.] *Obv.* Felix Ravenna. Size, ·65. Wt., 52·2 grs., highest.

*Rome.* X nummi. *Rev.* Athalaric, standing. Size, ·75. Wt., 50·5 grs., highest.

THEODAHAD.

*Ravenna.* V nummi, attributed to Theodahad. *Obv.* Bust of Justinian. Size, ·65. Wt., 54·5 grs., highest. The mark of value V appears on the *rev.*, otherwise one would reckon the coin as a piece of X nummi.

*Ravenna.* Small Æ. Size, ·35. Wt., 6·3 grs., worn (2½ nummi?).

*Ravenna.* [X nummi.] *Obv.* Invicta Roma. Size, ·85. Wt., 66·7, highest.

WITIGIS.

*Ravenna.* [X nummi.] *Obv.* Invicta Roma. Size, ·65. Wt., 69·6 grs., highest.

MATASUNTHA.

*Ticinum.* An exceptional coin, apparently of 20 nummi. Size, ·85. Wt. of British Museum specimen, 87 grs. (p. 81, *infra*).

BADUILA.

*Ticinum.* Small Æ, probably 2½ nummi. *Rev.* Monogram or name of Baduila. Size, ·35. Weights, 11·8, 12·3, and 14·6, highest. Cp. also pp. 92 and 94, *infra*.

*Ticinum.* [X nummi?] *Obv.* Felix Ticinus. Size, ·6. Brit. Mus. specimen weighs 46 grs.

*Ticinum.* [X nummi.] *Rev.* Name of Baduila.

(i) Size, ·7. Wt., 114·3 grs.

(ii) Size, ·65–·7. Wt., 71·6 grs.

As remarked in the text, *infra*, p. 91, note 3, (i) and (ii) seem at first, judging by their weights, to be two distinct denominations, of which one is the double of the other. The same differences of weight are found on Baduila's Roman coins (see next paragraph), but in that case the heavier and the lighter pieces bear the same mark of value, viz. X, and we can only suppose that the Roman coins and—by analogy—these Ticinum coins, are two separate coinages, heavy and light, of a single denomination which was regarded as the ten-nummus piece.

*Rome.* X numini.

(i) Sizes, ·8–·85. Wt., 121·4, highest.

(ii) Sizes, ·65–·7. Wt., 69·6, highest.

The heavy and light coinage of the ten-nummus piece: both (i) and (ii) bear the mark of value X.

## Inscriptions and Types.

**Inscriptions.** The inscriptions are simple. The solidi and tremisses have, throughout, the usual reverse legends of Imperial coins (*Victoria Augg.* and *Victoria Augustorum*), though Theodoric in certain instances adds his own monogram, unobtrusively.

The names of the kings as found on the silver and bronze are as follows:—Odovacar appears without any title as FL. ODOVAC. Theodoric identifies his coins by the bare monogram of his name,[1] and only on his triple-solidus[2] does he assume any title: the inscription of the obverse of this piece is *Theodericus Pius Princis*, and the reverse inscription *Theodericus Victor Gentium*.

All Theodoric's successors prefix the title DN (*Dominus noster*) to their names, and add, though not invariably, the title REX, or, as it is often written, RIX:—

DN ATHALARICVS (or ATALARICVS) REX
„ THEODAHATHVS (or THEODAHATVS) REX
„ VVITICES (or VVITICIS) REX
„ BADVILA (or BADVELA) REX
„ THEIA (or THILA[3]) REX
DOMNVS THEIA P(*ius*?) REX

Matasuntha is represented by the monogram of her name, and several kings who write their names in full also use their monogram.

The inscriptions descriptive of types are *Invicta Roma*; *Felix Ravenna*; *Felix Ticinus*. On a coin of Rome attributed to Theodoric (*infra*, p. 58 n.) we find the letters CM, probably *Caput Mundi*. The presence of SC

[1] As to its form see *supra*, p. xxxi, n. 3.

[2] p. xxxi, *supra*.

[3] See text, *infra*, p. 96, note 4.

(*Senatus consulto*) on the Roman coins of Theodoric and Athalaric is interesting[1]; so also the inscription *Floreas* (or *Flureas*) *semper* on a Roman coin of Baduila, though it may be doubtful[2] whether this ejaculation applies to Rome or to the Ostrogothic king.

The marks of value X and V (nummi) occasionally occur on the bronze coins; XL on the quasi-autonomous bronze of Rome.

There is little in the lettering that calls for notice. A is frequently written Λ, and L, ʟ. E and I are often interchanged, as RIX and REX; BADVILA and BADVELA. On the quasi-autonomous bronze of Rome, attributed to Theodoric and Athalaric, *Imvicta* and *Invicta* (*Roma*) both occur. On Athalaric's regal coins struck at Rome *Invicta* appears as *Inbicta*.

The mint-place is sometimes indicated by the type of the busts of Ravenna and Ticinus, or by that of Roma, though some of the 'Roma' coins were struck at Ravenna. The mint-name is seldom inscribed, but we find RV (Odovacar), R/ (Theodoric) for Ravenna; R/I for Rome (Theodoric). COMOB and CONOB stand both for Rome and for Ravenna; some of the Imperial gold coins struck by Justinian at Rome are inscribed ROMOB.[3]

**Types.**

Many details of the types have been discussed in the notes to the text or in connexion with the history of the kings (*supra*), but a recapitulation may be useful.

The gold money displays the types usually found on the imitative solidi and tremisses of Italy, i.e. *rev.* Victory holding a broad cross (Pl. V. 15), and Victory on the globus (Pl. V. 17). Theodoric's triple solidus is in every way exceptional.

**Portraiture.**

The heads found on the coins are more often than not those of emperors, usually the contemporary emperor; but sometimes the head of a deceased emperor is revived, as was Anastasius I by Baduila and by Theia, who were at war with the reigning emperor, Justinian I. The heads of four kings are represented. First, the head of Odovacar (Pl. V. 7), probably an attempt at portraiture[4]; then, the delicately engraved bust of Theodoric (*Frontispiece*), but this only on the triple solidus,[5] for his ordinary coins do not present his portrait. The bust of Athalaric does not occur, but an armed figure on the bronze coins of Rome (Pl. VIII. 21) represents him, as the inscription indicates. The next king, Theodahad, presents a finely modelled bust of himself, which may be something of a likeness (Pl. IX. 13–17),[6] and for the first time assumes a crown. There is no portrait of Witigis, and none of the latest

[1] Cp. p. xxxii, *supra*.

[2] See p. 93, *infra*.

[3] A bronze coin of Justinian (p. 110, no. 24, *infra*) is inscribed ROMA (written retrograde and with MA in ligature).

[4] p. xxx, *supra*.

[5] p. xxxi, *supra*.

[6] p. xxxiv, *supra*.

king, Theia. Baduila's head appears, crowned, on some of his bronze coins (Pl. XI), but it is much less characteristic than Theodahad's, and hardly a true portrait. His head on some of the silver money is entirely conventional and modelled on the head of the Emperor Anastasius. Baduila also appears as an armed warrior, reviving the type introduced by Athalaric (Pl. XI. 30).

**Reverse types.**

The Ostrogothic reverse types (especially on the silver), though often effective and elegant as coin designs, do not evince much originality, and the almost entire absence of religious symbolism is noticeable. The usual reverse type is either the monogram or the name of the king encircled by a massive wreath.

The silver coinage begins to assume an almost stereotyped form under Athalaric and his successor Theodahad. Their half siliquae have *rev.* Monogram in wreath; their quarter siliquae, *rev.* Name in wreath.

The half siliqua of Matasuntha has also as *rev.* Monogram in wreath, but the half siliqua of her husband Witigis has *rev.* Name in wreath, while his quarter siliqua has the *monogram* in wreath.

Baduila follows his predecessor Witigis in taking for his half siliqua the 'Name in wreath' type, and for his quarter siliquae the 'Monogram in wreath' type. Theia copies Baduila in this.

The usual reverse type of the bronze coinage, especially the ten-nummi pieces, is likewise the monogram, or the name of the king within a wreath. The *obv.* of these coins is a bust of *Invicta Roma*. We have also busts of *Felix Ravenna* and *Felix Ticinus*.

The quasi-autonomous bronze struck at Rome under Theodoric and Athalaric supply some interesting types, all apparently connected with the glories of ancient Rome.[1] The *obv.* of these coins is a bust of *Invicta Roma*; the reverses are Victory on a prow; an eagle; two eagles near a tree, which is probably the *ficus ruminalis*; and the familiar group of the Wolf and Twins.

A TABLE OF MINTS is appended:—

**Table of Mints.**

| RULER | MINT | MINT | MINT | MINT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ODOVACAR | Ravenna | Rome | | |
| THEODORIC | Ravenna | Rome | Milan | |
| ATHALARIC | Ravenna | Rome | | |
| THEODAHAD | Ravenna | Rome | | |
| WITIGIS | Ravenna | | | Ticinum (?) |
| MATASUNTHA | Ravenna | | | Ticinum (and others ?) |
| BADUILA | | Rome | | Ticinum |
| THEIA | | | | |

[1] p. 99, *infra*.

## On the Attribution of Italian Coins with Imperial Names (Period of the Ostrogoths).

It has already been pointed out that over and above the coins which are inscribed with the names or monograms of Ostrogothic kings there is a considerable mass of money in gold, silver, and bronze which, judging from its provenance, types, and style, evidently emanated from Italian mints in the period of the Ostrogoths. These coins bear the name and usually the head of an emperor, and their correct assignment in time and place—hitherto but little discussed—is highly important if we would form a correct idea of the currency of this period.[1]

The emperors chiefly represented are Zeno, Anastasius I, 'Justin' (I and II), and Justinian I, their reigns covering the whole Ostrogothic period (including the epoch of Odovacar). It may be convenient to examine the coins with these names under the separate headings of gold, silver, and bronze coinages.

### GOLD COINS.

The frequent mention in Ostrogothic history of large payments of pounds of gold would by itself suggest that the Ostrogoths, like other Teutonic peoples, made use of gold money imitated from the coinage of the Empire. The rhetorical formula composed by Cassiodorus for the Ostrogothic Master of the Mint, runs in this manner:—'Let the flame of gold be pale and unmixed, let the colour of silver smile with its gracious whiteness, let the ruddy copper retain its native glow.'[2] And all doubt is dispelled by the existence of gold solidi bearing the head of Anastasius I, but inscribed on their reverse with the monogram of Theodoric and with the mint-names of Ravenna and Rome (pp. 46, 55, *infra*). Although these are the only gold coins that bear the name or monogram of an Ostrogothic ruler, they furnish us with valuable clues of style and fabric for identifying further imitative gold coins as Ostrogothic currency.[3]

**Gold of Zeno and Basiliscus.**

Zeno, and the usurper Basiliscus. Both these Eastern emperors were contemporary with Odovacar, and we find Italian coins of the mints of Rome, Ravenna, and Milan bearing their names. The difficulty is to determine which of these coins were struck under Imperial authority, and which were issued by the authority of Odovacar.

[1] There are also anonymous (i. e. without name of emperor or king) bronze coins of Italy of the Ostrogothic period. These are discussed in the text, *infra*, p. 98, under 'Quasi-autonomous coins of Rome and Ravenna'.

[2] *Var.*, vii. 32; Hodgkin's *Letters of Cassiodorus*, p. 338.

[3] Some attention was devoted to these imitative gold coins by Charles Lenormant and Ch. Robert, but their attempts to identify on them a number of Italian mint-names are hazardous: see B. Biondelli, *Sulle monete auree dei Goti in Italia*, Milan, 1861; Keary, *Coinages of West. Europe*, p. 44; cp. Friedlaender, *Vandalen*, pp. 59 f., and Marchant, *Lettres*, p. 128 (ed. 1851). The work of de Salis in this field has already been alluded to (p. xxix. *supra*).

Their periods of rule are as follows:—

Zeno (first reign), 474—Nov. 475.
Basiliscus, Nov. 475—July, 477.
Odovacar, 23 Aug. 476–493.
Zeno (second reign), July, 477–491.

It will thus be seen that any Italian coins issued with Zeno's name during his first reign (474–475) cannot have been struck by Odovacar, whose reign began in 476; nor can the earlier Italian issues of Basiliscus have been struck by Odovacar. Odovocar may well, however, have imitated the later coinages of Basiliscus (end of 476 to July, 477), and subsequently (after July, 477) have struck coins bearing the name of Zeno, then in his second reign. It is thus difficult to discriminate between the coins that may have been struck before Odovacar's accession and those struck after it. In the case of the coins bearing the name of Basiliscus I have left all the specimens among the Imperial series, not venturing to regard any as imitative issues put forth by Odovacar.

**The gold of Zeno's second reign, probably struck by Odovacar.**

In the case of the Italian coins bearing the name of Zeno, it is perhaps possible to distinguish between those struck during his first reign—in the ordinary course, as Imperial money—and those struck during his second reign, these last being imitative coins issued by the authority, or with the allowance, of Odovacar.[1]

**Gold, with name of Anastasius I, coined by Theodoric,**

ANASTASIUS I. There are solidi of Italian style inscribed COMOB (instead of CONOB), which is usually, though not invariably, a sign of Roman or of Italian origin. Some of these have the rough and, so to speak, gritty reverses which are characteristic of many coins of the Ravenna mint: others were probably struck at Rome and Milan, and all were no doubt the coinage of Theodoric. The solidi were supplemented by various series of tremisses, apparently, from their style, struck both at Rome and Ravenna.

[1] Zeno's gold coins are as follows:—*Ravenna.* A solidus with RV of coarse style, resembling the Italian coins of Basiliscus: this probably belongs to Zeno's first reign and is thus Imperial. Solidi with a small narrow head (without RV) and some tremisses of rough style were probably struck by Odovacar during Zeno's second reign.

*Rome.* Solidi of rough work like those of Basiliscus, and like the Ravenna coin above assigned to Zeno's first reign, and therefore not of Odovacar. Tremisses (*rev.* Cross in wreath. COMOB). An attribution is perhaps hazardous, but I venture to assign those of fairly neat work (as regards the obverse) to the first reign of Zeno (thus they are Imperial), and those with a ruder obverse head to Odovacar (Pl. V. 3–5).

*Mediolanum.* Gold and silver. Count de Salis has apparently divided each series into an earlier and a later class. The first of these might be regarded as of Zeno's first reign (Imperial coinage) and the second as imitative issues of Odovacar. But I do not venture to make the distinction, and the two classes may be treated as Imperial issues and not as Odovacar's coinage.

Besides the coins above mentioned there are some solidi and many tremisses which are of ruder style and (as can hardly be doubted) later date. These pieces are certainly later than Theodoric (the contemporary of Anastasius), and may well be assigned to the time of Baduila and of Theia, who (as we know from their named regal money) placed the head of the deceased Anastasius upon their coins in lieu of the head of their contemporary Justinian, with whom they were at war.

**and by Baduila and Theia.**

JUSTIN I. This emperor was the contemporary of Theodoric and, for a short time, of Athalaric. The Ravenna solidi and tremisses that bear his name were therefore probably struck by those kings.

**Gold with name of Justin I, struck by Theodoric and Athalaric.**

JUSTINIAN I. *Solidi and Tremisses.* Justinian was the contemporary of Athalaric, Theodahad, Witigis, Baduila, and Theia. The two kings last named are not very likely (as we have just seen) to have issued coins with the name of their enemy Justinian, and the choice of possible issuers is therefore probably to be limited to Athalaric, Theodahad, and Witigis. As these three rulers issued silver coins with the name of Justinian, there is reason to suppose that they would also issue gold coins imitated from the same emperor. The Italian gold coins with Justinian's name may therefore be assigned to the period of these three rulers, though it is hardly possible to make an exact assignment to individual kings: certain solidi and tremisses which are of markedly ruder style than others will naturally be attributed to Witigis rather than to Athalaric or Theodahad.

**Gold, with name of Justinian I, coined by Athalaric, Theodahad, and Witigis.**

Some still ruder solidi and tremisses with Justinian's name will be found described *infra* in the Lombardic series.

IMPERIAL ISSUES of Justinian I. In addition to the above, there is a series of solidi and tremisses with the name of Justinian recognizable by its flat, spread fabric (Pl. XVI. 11–16). These coins were apparently classified by de Salis as Lombardic or Ostrogothic, and were not included by me in the British Museum Catalogue of *Imperial Byzantine Coins*. I am now convinced that these coins, though of very bizarre appearance, especially the solidi, are Imperial issues made at Ravenna.[1] They are, in fact, of the same fabric and style as coins already recognized as the Ravenna currency of the Emperor Justin II and his successors.[2]

**JUSTINIAN'S IMPERIAL GOLD COINAGE**

**At Ravenna.**

[1] A correction is therefore required of the statement in *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. ciii n., that gold coins at Ravenna were 'apparently first issued in the reign of Justin II'

[2] *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 103.

The earliest date at which these coins of Justinian can have been struck is A. D. 540, when Ravenna passed from the Ostrogoths to Belisarius and his master; but what we know of the Ravenna coinage from other sources renders it likely that these gold coins were not issued till A. D. 555. Now, the bronze coins issued under Justinian's authority in Italy bear as their earliest date—and they are all dated—year '29', i. e. A. D. 555/6.[1] The gold coins are probably of the same period, and the likeness between the emperor's head on the solidi and that on the small bronze coins issued at Ravenna, A. D. 555–564, is remarkable.[2]

*circ.* 555 A.D.

The Imperial coinage in Ravenna would thus seem to belong to the period following the complete overthrow of the Ostrogothic kingdom, and nearly to coincide with the rule of Narses in Italy, A. D. 555–567.[3]

## SILVER.

ZENO. The coin described *infra*, p. 44, No. 8, *rev.* Eagle (Pl. V. 6), may best be assigned to Odovacar. It seems to be a somewhat rude copy (not, however, as regards the reverse, an *exact* imitation) of the silver coins of Zeno (Imperial issues), which were probably struck at Milan. The obverse head is not unlike the silver bearing Odovacar's name (Pl. V. 7). The mint was probably Ravenna. With the eagle on the reverse compare the eagle on the quasi-autonomous bronze of Rome (Pl. XIII).[4]

**Silver, with name of Zeno, probably struck by Odovacar.**

ANASTASIUS I. The silver coin (Pl. VII. 5) with *rev.* Victory and SC was struck at Rome, and no doubt under Theodoric, perhaps at the time of his visit in A. D. 500.

The coins with reverse ✱, p. 49, *infra* (Pl. VI. 5–7), are thoroughly Ostrogothic in style, and have the appearance of issues of the mint of Ravenna. They resemble, especially in the blurred lettering, certain silver coins of Theodahad and of Witigis, but seem to be earlier than these reigns, and indeed both these kings indicated their own names on their coins. They may, perhaps, be assigned to Theodoric.[5]

**Silver, with name of Anastasius, struck by Theodoric.**

[1] See *Imp. Byz. Coins*, pp. 70, 71.

[2] Compare, especially, the solidi of Ravenna (Pl. XVI. 11) with the bronze of Ravenna figured in *Imp. Byz. Coins*, Pl. X. 13, p. 71, No. 408: in each case the curious treatment of the corners of the eyes is remarkable.

[3] Some solidi with the name of Justinian are attributed *infra*, p. 111, to the Imperial mint at *Rome*, partly on account of their resemblance to the remarkable solidus at Berlin (Pl. XVI. 4; *infra*, p. 111; *Z. f. N.*, i, p. 303), reading ROMOB. A tremissis inscribed ROMOB no doubt belongs to the same time (p. 111, No. 29, *infra*).

[4] Silver coins with *rev.* Standing figure and RV probably belong to Zeno's first reign and are thus Imperial issues. On silver struck at Mediolanum with Zeno's name see *supra*, p. xlvi n.

[5] A coin with *rev.* is discussed, p. li n., *infra*, where it is assigned to Baduila.

JUSTINUS. There are silver coins inscribed IVSTINVS bearing the numerals CN, PKE, and varieties of the sacred monogram on their reverses. Coins with similar reverses also bear the name of Justinian.

**Silver, with name of Justinus.**

These IVSTINVS coins have usually been regarded as Imperial issues of Justin I, but in the Catalogue of *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, p. 21, it was pointed out that they might possibly have been struck *after* the death of Justin I as Ostrogothic issues of Baduila, who might be supposed to have revived the head of the deceased Justin I for the same reason—hostility to Justinian—that he had revived the head of Anastasius.[1] I am now more fully convinced than before that these coins are later than the lifetime of Justin I, and I believe, moreover, that it can be shown that they are not Ostrogothic but Imperial issues made by order of Justin II, the successor of Justinian.

On the supposition that the coins bear the name and head of the *first* Justin, they must obviously be Ostrogothic issues, for in the reign of Justin I the Imperial authority had not yet been regained over any of the Italian cities. But if we regard the coins as Ostrogothic and compare them with the *named* silver coins of the Ostrogothic kings, we are struck by the differences between the two series. While the undoubted Ostrogothic coins are comparatively thick and compact, these supposed Ostrogothic coins of Justin 'I' are thin and flat. The Ostrogothic coins, again, show a well-modelled, rounded bust; in the other series the bust is differently treated, and so also the cuirass and drapery. The 'Justin' coins, then, are probably not Ostrogothic, but in respect of their fabric and the treatment of the bust they bear considerable resemblance to the Imperial coins struck at Ravenna by Tiberius II (*Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 124, No. 161) and by Maurice Tiberius (ib., p. 156, No. 281).

**Not Ostrogothic, but Imperial issues of Justinus II.**

The coins, then, are not Ostrogothic issues of the period of Justin I but Imperial issues of Justin II, and the view that we may best take of the CN, &c., silver coins may be thus expressed. This coinage was inaugurated by Justinian I[2] at Ravenna, at some date after the year 540, when the city passed from Ostrogothic into Imperial hands: probably the date of the coinage was *circ.* 555–565. This Imperial coinage was continued at Ravenna in the time of Justinian's successor, Justin II, and all the coins inscribed IVSTINVS were issued by him.[3] Some silver coins of similar fabric continued to be issued at Ravenna by Justin's successors, Tiberius II and Maurice Tiberius.[4]

JUSTINIAN I. The numerous silver coins with CN, PKE, &c. (Pl. XVII.

[1] *Imp. Byz. Coins*, pp. 21, 22.

[2] See next paragraph.

[3] But some imitations of these coins are probably Lombardic, and will be found described *infra* in the Lombard Series.

[4] See *infra*, p. 122.

1–23), may, as already suggested in the preceding paragraph, be regarded as the Ravenna coinage of Justinian.[1] The earliest issue of Justinian's gold and bronze coins at Ravenna probably took place *circ.* A. D. 555, and there is no reason why these silver coins should not be assigned to the period 555–565. They were succeeded by similar silver coins of Justin II.[2]

**Imperial Silver coinage of Justinian I at Ravenna.**

The coins in Pl. X. 4–7 and Pl. XI. 9 are hard to attribute. They bear on the reverse a monogram which is not identical with that on any other Ostrogothic coins, but which, as Friedlaender has remarked,[3] is probably intended for the name of Theodoric (Tedericvs). These coins, however, were undoubtedly not issued by Theodoric himself, for the coins in Pl. X. 4–7 bear the head of Justinian, whose accession took place after Theodoric's death, and the coin in Pl. XI. 9, though it bears the head of Anastasius I, the contemporary of Theodoric, is clearly, both in style and fabric, of a much later period than that of the first Ostrogothic king.

**Silver coins with monogram of Theodoric.**

The coins, then, were not issued by Theodoric, and we have to inquire at what subsequent period in Ostrogothic history money is likely to have been struck with his monogram. Friedlaender suggests that these coins were struck at some crisis such as the interregnum between the fall of Baduila and the election of Theia, or during the not universally recognized rule of Eraric. A rather serious objection to this theory is that the coins (with one exception) have on the obverse the head of Justinian. Now, this emperor's head was, as we know, repudiated by Baduila and Theia.

Neither Friedlaender nor Keary happens to have been aware of the rather remarkable resemblance existing between the head of Justinian on one of these coins (Pl. X. 4) and the head of that emperor on a silver coin (Pl. X. 11) of Matasuntha. This resemblance may fairly furnish a clue to the date of the coins, and it may be suggested that their issue took place somewhere in or about the time of Witigis and Matasuntha. It would be possible to assign them to Ildibad and Eraric[4] (A. D. 540–541), the immediate successors of Witigis; but these ephemeral rulers are not known to have issued money bearing their own names, and on the whole it is perhaps best to attribute the coins to the reign of Witigis.

**Probably struck by Witigis.**

According to this theory Witigis would have struck at Ravenna

[1] A few of rude style are probably Lombardic. [2] See p. xlix, *supra.*

[3] Friedlaender, *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 54; Pinder and Friedlaender, *Münzen Justinians*, pp. 65, 66.

[4] Eraric entered into negotiations with Justinian.

(i) half siliquae (Pl. X. 1–3) and bronze (Pl. X. 8–10) on exactly the same pattern as his predecessors, though bearing his own name; (ii) quarter siliquae (the coins now under discussion, Pl. X. 4–7) with the monogram of Theodoric on their reverse, this monogram being intended to emphasize the right of Witigis to the Ostrogothic crown, derived from his marriage with Matasuntha, the granddaughter of Theodoric.[1]

JUSTIN II. The silver coins (Imperial issues of Ravenna) attributed to this emperor, have been discussed under 'Justinus', p. xlix, *supra*.

BRONZE.

**Small bronze coins with names of Leo, Zeno, and Anastasius.**

Numerous small coins, bearing as their reverse types the monograms of Leo I, Zeno, and Anastasius I, have been discovered in Italy[2]; but they are found also in Africa, and the evidence of provenance thus leaves it undecided whether they are coins of the Ostrogoths or of the Vandals. If of Ostrogothic origin, those with the head of Leo I and Zeno might be assigned to Odovacar; those with the head of Anastasius to Theodoric.

**Probably Vandalic, but perhaps used by the Ostrogoths.**

But all the coins in question are so rude, more especially in respect of the obverses, that they can hardly find a place among Ostrogothic issues. They compare badly with the known Ostrogothic money, and present—at least so far as I can detect—no features of style or fabric that characterize the products of Ravenna, Rome, and other Italian mints. They have therefore been here catalogued among the miscellaneous coins of the Vandals (Pl. III, IV), to which in style they bear sufficient resemblance. At the same time, it is difficult to exclude the suspicion that a number of these minute coins found their way into Italy and served to eke out the native Ostrogothic issues, more especially in the petty buying and selling of everyday life. From the number of coins of this class that occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard, a hoard that must have been buried as late as the time of Baduila (died 552 A. D.), it might be inferred that these little coins did not cease to circulate when Theodoric died, but formed a practical supplement to the coinage for long years after his death.[3]

[1] The little coin, p. 87, *infra*, Pl. XI. 9, with *rev.* monogram of Theodoric, and *obverse* Head of Anastasius I (of inferior style), may be assigned to the reign of Baduila who, as is known from his named coins, substituted the head of this deceased emperor for that of his hostile contemporary Justinian.

[2] See Friedlaender's description of the Monte Roduni hoard in his *Münzen der Vandalen*, pp. 41 f.

[3] So in England in the thirteenth century a mass of small foreign coins were imported, and though illegal tender, practically played the part of currency of the realm. The

ANASTASIUS I. Bronze assigned to Theodoric: see text, *infra*, p. 51.

JUSTIN I. The various coins of Italian origin bearing the name of Justinus (and others bearing the name of Justinianus) have been insufficiently discussed by numismatists, though they present a number of not unimportant problems. Thus we have to determine whether the IVSTINVS of the coins was the first or second emperor of that name; whether the coins are Imperial issues or Ostrogothic, or partly of both classes; at what periods they were issued, and at what mints.

**Bronze Coins of Justinus.**

The coins inscribed IVSTINVS are small pieces marked V (Pl. VI. 18–24), and also some marked Є (Pl. VI. 16, 17).[1] It is not easy to decide between the claims of the two Justins to these coins, but I think an attribution to Justin I has most in its favour. The head of the emperor, it must be observed, is represented in profile, and if the coins were issued by Justin II we should expect the head to be shown *facing*, in accordance with the practice introduced by his predecessor Justinian.[2] And an attribution to Justin I receives further support when we compare the treatment of the head (small and in high relief) with the head of Justinian found on small bronze of Athalaric (cp. Pl. VI. 16–18 with Pl. VIII. 15–18).[3]

On the reasonable assumption, then, that these coins bear the head of Justin I, it follows that they were issues of the Ostrogoths and not of the emperor who had no foothold in Italy. They may be attributed to Theodoric, though it is possible that some may have been issued by Athalaric, who was, for a short time, the contemporary of Justin I. The style of the coins—note the well-modelled bust in prominent relief—suggests that they were struck at the Ravenna mint.

**Probably early Ostrogothic, with name of Justinus I.**

issue of bronze tokens by private traders supplied the dearth of official small change during part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[1] *Obv.* Head of Justin in profile. *Rev.* Є in wreath.—There are bronze coins with a similar *rev.* but with *obv.* Head of Justinian I, and rather thicker and larger than the 'Justin' coins. Several specimens are in the British Museum, where I have found them classed with the Italian or Ostrogothic coins. I am not aware that they are known to be of Italian provenance: perhaps the occurrence of the wreath on the *rev.* may have been supposed by de Salis, or whoever arranged the coins, to be indicative of Ravenna. But the wreath is not much like the wreaths that are found on undoubted coins of that mint, nor do the obverses seem to me to be of Italian style. From the general treatment of the bust (especially of the drapery) I should be disposed to assign them to the mint of Carthage, where, however, we already find Є coins marked with the mint-name (CAR).

Besides these, there are in the British Museum bronze coins with a similar *rev.*, Є in wreath, but with a *full-face* head of Justinian I on the *obv.* These are probably of the same mint (Carthage?) as the Є coins of Justinian with profile head, just described.

[2] Or, as an alternative, we should expect that the *obv.* would have consisted of facing figures of Justin II and Sophia, the usual *obv.* of the Imperial bronze coins of Justin II.

[3] Compare also the head of Odovacar on his small bronze, Pl. V. 8, 9.

JUSTINIAN I. The coins of the denomination X nummi (Pl. VIII. 11–14) are of the same style as the pieces with the name of Justin I, marked V, which we have just assigned to the Ravenna mint under Theodoric (Pl. VI. 18, &c.). They may therefore be assigned to Athalaric, Theodoric's successor, who was a contemporary of Justinian I.[1]

**Bronze, with Justinian's name, struck by Athalaric.**

*Coins of Rome, chiefly of* M *and* K *denominations.* In the Catalogue of *Imperial Byzantine Coins* (pp. xvii, xviii, cii) doubts were expressed as to whether any Imperial coins of Justinian were struck at Rome until *circ.* A. D. 552, and the scanty issues of the Roman mint under Justinian's immediate successors seemed to bear out this view. Count de Salis appears to have considered that these coins were Ostrogothic and not Imperial. But though this view as to the non-Imperial nature of the coins is not to be hastily dismissed, I am now of opinion that these M and K pieces (and also some others noted below) are best accounted for on the supposition that they are *Imperial* issues. The insertion of them in the Ostrogothic series proper would rather overload that coinage, especially as we could not place them later than the earlier part of the reign of Theodahad, for the reason that Theodahad at last repudiated the head of Justinian, and his successors, Baduila and Theia, to a great extent did likewise. On the other hand, there is no insuperable difficulty in recognizing in them the Roman coinages of Justinian.

**Imperial bronze coins of Justinian struck at Rome.**

The earliest date at which coins of a true Imperial character can have been issued at Rome is Dec. 536, when Justinian, through his general, Belisarius, first became master of the city. The M coins, of fine style (Pl. XV. 1–4), and the corresponding K coins (Pl. XV. 9–14), may well have been minted at that time, and a comparison of them with the large

[1] The mint-place was no doubt Ravenna: compare the *obv.* of bronze nummi of Ravenna with *rev.* monogram of Athalaric (Pl. VIII. 16–18). Besides the X coins with the head of Justinian there are pieces of the V denomination. One of these (Pl. VIII. 15), of small module, resembles the nummi of Athalaric (*rev.* monogram of Athalaric, Pl. VIII. 16–18), and may be assigned to him. The other coins marked V (Pl. IX. 7–10) are of larger module and display a different treatment of the head of Justinian on the *obv.* (it is in lower relief and in some cases resembles the head on the earliest Imperial coins of Justinian struck at Rome). Perhaps they may best be assigned to the reign of THEODAHAD (early part). Their style is not distinctively that of Ravenna, but their *rev.* type, V in wreath, fits in better with the bronze coins of Ravenna than with the coinage of Rome.

On coins of Justinian with Є on *rev.* see *supra*, p. lii, note 1.

M (40 nummi) bronze of Theodahad (A. D. 534–536), especially in regard to the treatment of the head (Pl. IX. 13–18), suggests that the coins belong to about this period, *i. e.* Dec. 536–*circ.* 538.

*circ.* **536–538.**

Some of the M coins (Pl. XV. 5–8) form a class by themselves, distinguished by their relatively light weight and their fabric, and by the dry and careless engraving of the head. We could imagine these as spreading over a period of several years, but in view of the fact that we have a new type of M coin—with a *facing* head—to fit into the Roman system, it may be necessary to make the above-mentioned coins with the *profile* head cease about A.D. 538. The degeneracy of the M coins with the profile head may, indeed, be accounted for, not unsatisfactorily, by a disorganization of the mint caused by the great siege of Rome under Witigis. This siege began in March, 537, and was only abandoned in March, 538.

Soon after the departure of the Goths the M coin, with the *full-face* head of Justinian (Pl. XVI. 6), may have been minted. It cannot at any rate have been issued earlier than this, for it was only after April, 538/9, that Justinian introduced this full-face portrait on the principal coins of the Empire.

*circ.* **538, full-face types.**

The full-face M issue at Rome was no doubt accompanied by full-face I coins (one of which is in fact inscribed ROM) and by minute bronze pieces with reverse, Lion, a type which is found also on the bronze of Baduila, A. D. 541–552. It would probably be during this period, A. D. 538–549, that the gold solidi with the full-face bust of Justinian, and the tremissis with ROMOB were issued by the Imperial authority at Rome (see p. xlviii, *supra*, note 3).

So far as we know no further Imperial coins were issued at Rome till A. D. 552/3, when a (dated) coin of XX nummi (henceforth the highest denomination in bronze at Rome) was put into circulation (see *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 70, No. 402, Pl. X. 11). A similar piece of XX nummi was afterwards issued at Rome by Justinian's successor, Justin II (ib., p. 102).[1]

*circ.* **552.**

[1] There are also small bronze coins with *obv.* Head and name of Justinian I facing. *Rev.* ✠ within wreath. Specimens occurred in the Montę Roduni hoard (Friedlaender, *M. d. Vand.*, p. 43; Pinder and Friedlaender, *Münzen Justinians*, p. 54, with AΩ), and they may possibly be Italian, i.e. Imperial coins of Justinian, struck (because of the facing head) not earlier than A. D. 538. On the other hand, the *rev.* type is of the kind found on Imperial coins of Carthage, and a specimen in the British Museum, weight 6 grains, probably comes from an African source (Doubleday purchase, 1849, 7-17-374). The style of this specimen is not distinctly Italian, and on the whole, these coins may perhaps be best regarded as Imperial struck at *Carthage, circ.* A.D. 539–541. In the British Museum are two small bronze pieces (weight, 7 grains and 7·7 grains) which seem to be rude (African ?) imitations of these coins.

I am also inclined to regard as Imperial African (of Justinian I) the following small

## § 3. Coinage of the Lombard Kings.[1]

The domination of the Lombardic invaders of Italy was of longer duration than the Ostrogothic, and extended—so far as concerns the Lombard kingdom—over a period of more than two centuries, from Alboin the conqueror and 'Lord of Italy' (A. D. 568–572) to Desiderius, the last king who, in June, 774, became the prisoner of Charlemagne.

The number of coins inscribed with the names of Lombard rulers is not large, but in order to ascertain the total output of their mints it is necessary to take into account a considerable mass of gold and silver money which, though modelled on the Imperial coinages, is evidently not Imperial, and is of Italian style and provenance.

The practice of inscribing the coins with the king's name did not arise till the Lombard kingdom had been long in existence, and perhaps not till late in the seventh century.[2] In the time of Cuninepert (A. D. 688–700) the practice first becomes settled, and the Lombard coinage assumes its well-marked characteristics. This coinage of Cuninepert, imitated by his successors, is found to consist almost entirely of gold, the coins being of a single denomination—the tremissis, and, as shown by its flat, bracteate-like fabric, is evidently derived from the Imperial solidi struck at Ravenna.

The main difficulties of attribution arise in the period that extends from Alboin to Cuninepert, or perhaps from Alboin to Rothari, and have hardly been noted by previous inquirers.[3] Though I am aware of the conjectural nature of the following attributions, there may at least be some convenience in attempting them instead of leaving the coins to swell the already lengthy list of 'Uncertain' pieces imitated from Imperial issues.

**Attribution of the anonymous coins of the Lombard kings.**

First, then, there are several types of small silver coins (CN, &c., Pl. XVIII. 3–13) bearing the name of Justinian I, but which, from the rudeness of their style, we cannot suppose to be Imperial, or even Ostrogothic money.[4] If these are Lombardic imitations, as I suggest, they must

coin in the British Museum: *obv.* Bust facing, draped; on each side, a star: border of dots. *Rev.* $\frac{P}{A|\omega}$: border of dots. *Æ* Size ·35 inch. Wt. 8 grains (Doubleday purchase, 1849, 7-17-288). Cp. the *rev.* type on silver Carthage coins of Justinian and of Phocas.

[1] The coinage of the Lombard Duchy of Beneventum is discussed in § 4.

[2] The coins believed to bear the names of Rothari, of Grimwald and Perctarit (*Catalogue, infra*), may be, more or less, of doubtful attribution.

[3] Count de Salis does not seem to have given any special study to the Lombard series. Mr. Keary's descriptions (*Coinages of W. Europe*, p. 96) begin only with Cuninepert.

[4] They might, conceivably, be very careless productions of the Imperial mint of Ravenna, but this seems less likely than the supposition that they are barbarous imita-

have been made as early as the time of Alboin (568–572), for Justinian died in 565, and we have similar (i. e. Lombardic) imitations of the silver coins of his successor Justin II. There are also certain imitative gold tremisses with the name of 'Justin' (II)[1] which, in style, already foreshadow the gold coins of Cuninepert.

**Coinage of ALBOIN, CLEPH, and the interregnum, A.D. 568–584.**

To the reigns of Alboin and Cleph and the period of interregnum which followed the reign of Cleph I would, therefore, assign the following coins:—

*Gold.* Tremisses with name of Justin II.

*Silver.* (i) With name of Justinian I. (ii) With name of Justin II. (iii) With types of Tiberius II.

**Coinage of AUTHARI and AGILULF, A.D. 584–615.**

The second group of imitative coins (tremisses and small silver) bears the name of Maurice Tiberius, who reigned from 582 to 602, his reign being thus nearly contemporaneous with the rule of Authari (584–590) and Agilulf (590–615), by whom we may well suppose these coins to have been minted.

We have next to deal with three groups of coins (mainly tremisses) which bear (i) the name of Heraclius, (ii) the name of Constans II, (iii) the blundered name of an emperor. All these coins are of smaller module than the tremisses with the name of Maurice Tiberius above referred to, and in the case of i. and ii. there are peculiarities about the engraving of the types that differentiate them from the Lombardic imitations of the coins of Maurice Tiberius and from the later Lombard issues of Cuninepert. Yet in one notable point—the raised annular border—they seem to proclaim themselves coins of Northern (rather than of Southern or Central) Italy, and apparently the conclusion to be drawn is that they are regal issues of the Lombards.[2] Class i. (with the name of Heraclius) we might assign to Adalwald, Ariwald, and Rothari; class ii. (with the name of Constans II) to Rodwald, Aripert I, Perctarit with Godepert, and Grimwald.[3] This would carry the coinage to about the year 671.

**Coinage of ADALWALD, ARIWALD, and ROTHARI, A.D. 615–652.**

**Coinage of RODWALD, ARIPERT I, PERCTARIT with GODEPERT, and GRIMWALD, A.D. 652–*circ.* 671.**

tions. Another possible view, viz. that they are forgeries made in or near Ravenna to compete with the contemporaneous Imperial coins, seems improbable because, though some of the specimens are of rather light weight, the quality of the metal does not appear to be inferior to that of the Imperial coins.

[1] Possibly careless productions of the Imperial mint, but rather I think (Lombardic) imitative coins.

[2] A less probable view would be that they belong to the Imperial mint of Ravenna.

[3] To Grimwald, however, W. Boyne has attributed with fair probability a tremissis of different types, namely, the monogram of the king's name; see *infra*, p. 133.

Class iii (with a blundered name accompanying the *obverse* head) must probably be placed after the coins with the name of Constans II, though it is uncertain which Emperor's name is intended to be recorded. But that the coins are later than those (class ii) with the name of Constans II is probable for the following reasons:—(i) because the obverse legend has ceased to be intelligible; (ii) the module is smaller and the flan thicker; (iii) the purity of the gold shows signs of deterioration, several specimens being evidently of electrum. It should be added that these tremisses display a peculiarity which characterizes the gold coins of Cuninepert (*circ.* A. D. 688) and of later Lombard kings, namely, the placing (on the *obv.*) of a letter (which may or may not indicate the name of the mint) in close proximity to the head. These coins, I suggest, may belong to Perctarit (second reign, 672–688). These proposed attributions of the imitative Lombard coins, which, it must be repeated, are distinctly conjectural, bring us down to the reign of Cuninepert (688–700), who seems to have been the first king to institute what may be called an original, as opposed to an imitative, Lombard coinage. He places his name on the obverse of the coins, and on the reverse the figure of the archangel Michael (Pl. XX. 1, 2). His coins are thin and spread, and bear a considerable resemblance to the Lombard imitations of the coins of Maurice Tiberius, with reverse, Victory (Pl. XVIII. 22–24), but not, as would have been expected, to the Lombard imitations of the coins of the later Emperors Heraclius and Constans II, which have a cross potent as their reverse.

**Coinage of PERCTARIT, A.D. 672–688.**

**Coinage of CUNINCPERT, A.D. 688–700.**

This circumstance—the apparent derivation of the coins of Cuninepert from the imitative coins bearing the name of Maurice Tiberius—may seem to throw doubt on the correctness of our attribution to Lombard kings of the imitative coins with the names of Heraclius and Constans II; yet it is difficult to see in what other way the long interval between Maurice Tiberius and Cuninepert is to be bridged, unless, indeed, we are to suppose, what does not seem probable, that the Lombard kings from the time of Authari (A. D. 584) till the days of Cuninepert (A. D. 688) issued no gold coinage except such as bore the name and types of Maurice Tiberius.

It has been observed by Gregorovius that the Roman civilization in Italy was protected by the Ostrogoths and destroyed by the Lombards. The correctness of this observation seems to be borne out at any rate as regards the regal coinage of these peoples. For though the coinage of both is based on Roman models, of which in many cases it is merely a slavish reproduction, the money of the Ostrogoths displays, on the whole, not only neatness in execution but a certain elegance in design. The Lombard coinage, on the con-

**Rude character of the Lombard coinage. Its types.**

trary, remains, almost till the fall of the kingdom, both rude in workmanship and poor in conception. The Lombard State in itself was, indeed, not unprogressive, if we may judge by contrasting the Code of Rothari with the laws of Liutprand, and, again, the laws of Liutprand with those of the later kings, Ratchis and Aistulf. Moreover, certain of the Lombard rulers—the Queen Theudelinda and the gentle Perctarit—encouraged the art of the architect and even of the painter by the fine buildings that they caused to be erected and decorated. But their personal tastes never influenced the coinage. From the first king Alboin (568/9) till the time of Grimwald (662), or perhaps even later, the Lombard coinage was a more or less barbarous reproduction of the gold and silver money of the Empire. Grimwald and Perctarit, who (in his second reign) succeeded him, made—if the attributions of numismatists are correct—some attempt at innovation, but it was not till the (sole) reign of Cuninepert (688–700) that the coinage became distinctive. Cuninepert's tremissis is in fabric and style a kind of caricature of the Imperial coins of Ravenna, but, as we have already seen, he inscribed it with his own name and introduced as the reverse-type the winged figure of St. Michael, the patron saint of the Lombards.[1] And in selecting this latter type he was perhaps influenced by a recollection of the figure of Victory which had formerly appeared on the gold coinage of the Lombards in imitation of Roman originals.

The gold coins of Liutprand (712–744), the greatest of the Lombard kings and the ruler who came nearest to consolidating a great Lombard kingdom of Italy, are crude repetitions of the types of Cuninepert.[2]

Lastly, the gold or electrum tremissis of Aistulf (749–756) (Pl. XX. 9), which was imitated by his successor Desiderius and even by Charlemagne, is, by contrast, neat in fabric and lettering: the conventional cross potent of the Byzantine money is retained for one side of the coin, but on the reverse a not ineffective ornament is introduced which may be described either as a star or, more probably, as the corolla of a flower. The significance of this type has not been discovered, and perhaps it may be said that it is merely decorative.

**Legends.**

The legends present few features of interest. For a long series of years they are merely reproductions—and often very illiterate and meaningless reproductions—of those of the Imperial coins, that is, they record the Emperor's name and the familiar VICTORIA AVCVSTORVM. The king's style—from the time of Cuninepert—is D[ominus] N[oster] ... REX. In one case, possibly *Christianus Rex* (CRX, p. 147, *infra*).

Little use is made of monogrammatic types such as were favoured by the Ostrogoths. If we except the coinages attributed to Grimwald (gold, with monogram) and Perctarit (silver), the only instances are the monogram on the silver of Liutprand and that on the quasi-autonomous coins of Lucca.

[1] Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vi. 317.

[2] See Pl. XX. 1–2; 4–6. On his silver coins Liutprand places his monogram as a reverse type.

The figure of St. Michael is identified by SCS MIHAHIL, and an inscription of some importance is the word FLAVIA found on the tremisses of Aistulf and Desiderius in *Flavia Luca*, *Flavia Ticino*, *Flavia Sibrio*, *Flavia Placentia Aug*[usta], &c.

The application of an epithet to a city may possibly have been suggested by earlier coin-legends (chiefly Ostrogothic) such as 'Felix Carthago,' 'Felix Ravenna,' 'Felix Ticinus,' 'Invicta Roma,' but, of course, the word *flavius* had been in use elsewhere and long before the Lombard period—as Flavia Vindobona, Flavius Constantinus, Flavius Iustinianus. Originally importing connexion with the *gens Flavia*, the name was revived by the Constantine family, was employed by Byzantine Emperors (Anastasius I, &c.), and was adopted by the Lombard kings from the time of Authari onwards, though no Lombard ruler inscribed it upon his confessedly regal coins. Paulus (*H. L.*, iii. 16) declares that Authari received the title on account of his position of dignity—*quem etiam ob dignitatem*[1] *Flavium appellarunt*—and, as Mr. Hodgkin has remarked,[2] it may have been regarded as to some extent 'putting the seal of Roman legitimacy upon barbaric conquest'. So, Odovacar and Recared the Visigoth had called themselves 'Flavius'.

As applied to a city, the epithet 'Flavia' (as in 'Flavia Luca') may be something more than an ornamental one and may, as Hartmann[3] has suggested, have a technical meaning, implying that the city was a 'royal burgh' under the jurisdiction of the king or his representative, and not under the control of one of the more or less independent Lombard Dukes.

**Weights and Metals.**

*Gold.* The only denomination is the tremissis, weighing,[4] in the case of the imitative coins bearing the names of the Emperors (Justin II to Constans II), from 22 grains to a little more than 23 grains. The small thick tremisses that we have attributed to Perctarit (Pl. XIX. 14–25) weigh 23 grains (highest), but among these are some specimens in electrum which weigh less than 20 grains.

From the time of Cuninepert the tremissis (at least so far as specimens in the present catalogue suggest) shows a tendency to decline in weight, and under Aistulf and Desiderius the coin is of pale gold or electrum.

Cuninepert, 21·7 grains (highest).
Aripert II, 20·4 „ „
Liutprand, 19·5 „ „ (with large spread flans).

[1] Cp. 'suscepit Agilulf . . . regiam dignitatem' (the office of king), *H. L.*, iii. 35.

[2] *Italy*, &c., v. p. 234. So also J. Weise, *Italien und die Langobardenherrscher*, 1887, p. 73.

[3] Quoted by Kubitschek in *Numismatische Zeitschrift* (Wien), 1909, p. 46. See also as to 'Flavia', P. Bordeaux in *Rivista ital. di num.*, 1908, p. 107.

[4] The weights cited are chiefly those of specimens in the British Museum.

Ratchis, about 20 grains (Coll. of H.M. the King of Italy).
Aistulf, 17·4 grains (pale gold).
Desiderius, 17·2; 16·6; 10·6 (electrum).
Quasi-autonomous of Lucca, 21 (highest) (electrum).

*Silver.* The silver coinage—if our attributions are well founded—must have been of some importance in the earlier period of the Lombard kingdom, from Alboin to Agilulf, but, later, was not minted on a large scale.

In the latter half of the seventh century King Perctarit (672–688)—if the coins in question are correctly assigned—introduced a bracteate-like coinage of low weight (3·4 grains, highest in Brit. Mus.), but his example was not imitated. The silver coins struck by Liutprand are of the ordinary fabric and weigh 8·4 grains (highest).

The weights of coins in the British Museum are as follows:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'Justinian I' . . | CN | 15·8 | grains. | |
| „ „ . . | ☩ | 11· | „ | (highest). |
| „ „ . . | ☩ and ☨ | 5·8 | „ | „ |
| 'Justin II' . . . | ☩ | 11·7 | „ | „ |
| 'Tiberius II' . . | small Æ | 6·1 | „ | „ |
| 'Maurice Tiberius' | CN | 16· | „ | „ |
| „ | „ | 4·5 | „ | (small module).[1] |
| 'Heraclius' . . . | small Æ | 4· | „ | (highest). |
| 'Perctarit' . . . | bracteates | 3·4 | „ | „ |
| 'Liutprand'. . . . . | | 8·4 | „ | „ |

*Bronze.* It is curious that there are no coins in bronze identifiable as Lombardic. It may be that some of the small bronze pieces that we have referred to in connexion with the Vandals and the Ostrogoths had a circulation in the Lombard dominions. But the conjecture could only perhaps be accepted if we obtained evidence of the occurrence of such coins in hoards of gold and silver money of undoubted Lombard origin.

**Mints.**

The whole series of imitative coins (except the small tremisses ascribed to Perctarit) is devoid of mint-marks or bears only the mechanically repeated CONOB of the Imperial coins. It is natural to suppose that these coins were struck at Pavia (Ticinum), which from the reign of Alboin onwards was the capital of the Lombard kings.[2]

On the gold coins assigned to Perctarit, Cuninepert, Aripert II, and Liutprand, a number of letters occur which might *prima facie* be regarded as indicating the place of issue, but it is not till the reign of Aistulf (A. D. 749) that the coins are inscribed in full with a mint-name. One type

[1] There is also a coin marked PKE, Hirsch, *Catal.*, cited *infra*, p. 129.

[2] Pavia was not captured till 572; any coins issued by Alboin before that date were probably struck at his capital, Verona. Cp. L. Schmidt, *Gesch. der deutschen Stämme*, Berlin, 1910, p. 453.

of this king's tremisses bears the inscription *Flavia Luca*, and the tremisses of Desiderius not only bear the name of Lucca and of Pavia but of five other mints:—Milan, Castel Seprio ('Sebrio'), Treviso, Vicenza, and Vercelli. Whether these coins which show such a remarkable resemblance to one another in style and design were struck at the different cities whose names they record, or whether they really emanated from one central mint (Pavia or Lucca), is a difficult point, which can hardly be settled without the minute examination of a large number of specimens. The mention of Lucca on the coins of Aistulf suggests that it had risen to a position of especial importance, and, later, we find it issuing coins of a quasi-autonomous character (p. 150, *infra*).

The occurrence of these numerous mint-names on the coins of Desiderius renders it at least arguable that the letters (already referred to) on the coins of Perctarit, Cuninepert, Aripert II, and Liutprand may likewise indicate the names of mints. These letters are usually placed in close proximity to the head of the obverse, and are mainly as follows:—

Perctarit (small tremisses), B, 2, <; star.
Cuninepert, B, D, M, V; hand.
Aripert II, C, M, S.
Liutprand, (H or M?), L, M, N, S, $\underset{\epsilon}{S}$, T, V; hand.

Some of these letters might readily be identified with mints; thus, M, Milan, L, Lucca, S and $\underset{\epsilon}{S}$, Seprio, T, Ticinum or Treviso, V, Vicenza. But, on the other hand, there are others which cannot be so easily determined: such are B, D, N, and the symbols star and hand. Moreover, the infrequent occurrence of T—supposing it to mean Ticinum (Pavia)—is remarkable. It may also be pointed out that these letters do not stand alone, but are sometimes accompanied by other letters which are engraved on the bust of the obverse. Thus, in the coinage of Liutprand, $\underset{\epsilon}{S}$ before the head is accompanied by Λ (= A?) on the bust, T before the head has the same Λ on the bust, V before the head has L on the bust, the 'hand' before the head has C on the bust.

It may be prudent, therefore, at least on the present evidence, to refrain from identifying any of these letters as the initials of mint-places.

## § 4. Coinage of the Duchy and Principality of Beneventum.

**The four great Lombard Duchies.**

Of the four great Lombard duchies (sixth to eighth century A.D.), Beneventum, Spoletium, Tridentum (Trent), and Forum Julii (Friuli), the first only is known to have possessed a coinage of its own. The position of practical independence, in relation to the Lombard kingdom, which was

won by the Dukes of Beneventum was, indeed, attained also by Spoletium, and the apparent absence of coins in the latter case is somewhat remarkable.[1] If the Dukes of Spoletium ever issued money it was probably imitative of the Imperial coinage and devoid of distinctive letters or symbols such as those which enable us to classify the coins of Beneventum; and its identification, if practicable, must be left to Italian antiquaries who are in a position to note what coins are found at Spoleto and in its neighbourhood. The duchies of Tridentum[2] and Forum Julii,[3] partly owing to their northerly position, fell more readily under the regal jurisdiction than did Spoletium and Beneventum, the duchies of central and southern Italy, and the complete absence of coinage in their case is therefore less surprising.

In this volume, then, we have only to deal with the coinage of the single duchy of Beneventum, and the present introductory section may be comparatively brief, seeing that numismatists already possess in M. Arthur Sambon's monograph[4] a sufficient, if not completely exhaustive, survey and description of the Beneventum coinage, arranged in a very well-considered sequence.

**Duchy of Beneventum. Its earliest coinages.**

The earliest coins that can be identified with certainty as Beneventan are gold solidi and tremisses marked with the letter R, which is evidently—judging by the analogy of later coins—the initial of their issuer, Duke Romoald II, who ruled from A.D. 706 to 731. These coins (Pl. XXI. 5–15) are closely modelled on the money of the Emperor Justinian II struck during his first reign, A.D. 685–695.[5]

In the long period that elapsed between the founding of the Beneventan duchy (*circ.* A.D. 571) and the accession of Romoald II (A.D. 706), we may suppose that the currency of the dukes consisted of Imperial coins of the Constantinople, Ravenna, and Roman mints, or of imitations of those coins. There are some grounds for believing[6] that at least as early as the time of Romoald II the Imperial solidi had ceased to have any considerable circulation in the duchy, but it may fairly be asked whether it is possible

[1] See F. and E. Gnecchi, *Sagg. di bibliografia num.*, p. 368; C. Kunz in *Periodico di num. e sfrag.*, Florence, 1871, pp. 153 f.; *Bull. di num. e sfrag.*, Camerino, 1884, vol. ii, pp. 83 f.

[2] F. and E. Gnecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 386. During the Frankish invasion, according to Paulus Diaconus, ransom was paid on the Tridentine side at the rate of a solidus per head, the amount in this particular case being 600 solidi (Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vi. 32). But there is nothing to show that this was paid in a native ducal coinage.

[3] Cp. F. and E. Gnecchi, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

[4] *Recueil des monnaies de l'Italie méridionale. Bénévent.* Published in *Le Musée* for June, 1908, and following parts.

[5] See B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, Pl. 38, Nos. 13, 14, Constantinople mint, and Pl. 39, Nos. 16, 17, Roman mint.

[6] Sambon, s.v. Romoald II.

to identify any of the *imitative* solidi and tremisses which we may well suppose that the Dukes of Beneventum—like the Lombard kings and so many of the German invaders of the Empire—continued to issue until such time as native currencies developed themselves. Sambon has not attempted to identify any such imitative pieces, though an identification could probably best be made by an Italian numismatist well acquainted with the usual provenance of coins. There are, however, a few specimens in the British Museum which seem to me to have some claim to be considered Beneventan, and these are accordingly described, *infra*, pp. 189–92, under the heading of 'Uncertain Beneventan Coinages'. They bear the names of Constans II and Constantine IV, and may be regarded as the imitative coinage[1] of Grimoald I, Romoald I, Grimoald II, and Gisulf I, i.e. the coinage of the period *circ.* A.D. 660–706. Besides these there is another series which closely resembles the Beneventan Coins of Romoald II, namely, the solidi and tremisses, which, in the British Museum Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine Coins (II, pp. 342–5; cp. I, p. xxxii), are grouped together as the 'Central and South Italian' coins of Justinian II, first reign, A.D. 685–695. Taken by themselves, these pieces might well be regarded as Beneventan, and as constituting the currency of Grimoald II and Gisulf I, the dukes who immediately preceded Romoald II, the first ruler (as we have seen) to stamp his money with the initial of his name. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that these Central and South Italian coins were issued not only with the name of Justinian II, but also with the names of many succeeding Emperors, and that they continued to be minted long after the Beneventan rulers (beginning with Romoald II) had adopted the practice of stamping their coins with an indication of the ducal name. The *later* coins of the Central and South Italian class it is almost impossible to attribute to Beneventum (for this attribution would involve the highly improbable existence of two concurrent coinages, one quasi-Imperial, the other marked as ducal), and it would probably also be hazardous to assign the *earlier* pieces of the same class to the mints of the duchy.

We may say, then, on the present evidence, that a strictly Beneventan coinage first arose under Romoald II (A.D. 706), but that there is some reason to think that his predecessors, from at least about A.D. 660, issued gold money that was imitative of that of Constans II and Constantine IV.

**Denominations and weights.**

The usual denominations are the solidus and tremissis, of gold, or purporting to be of gold. No regular silver coinage appears till the reign of Grimoald III, when the denarius is introduced (A.D. 788–792) under the influence of Charlemagne.[2]

From Romoald II to Grimoald III (*circ.* 706–806) well-preserved specimens of the solidus usually weigh rather more than

[1] Or, rather, probably only a portion of such coinage.

[2] Small silver coins (weights, 4·8 and 3·7 grains, Brit. Mus. specimens) are somewhat doubtfully attributed (p. 159, *infra*) to Duke Gregory, A.D. 732–739. With regard to the

60 grains (60 to 62 or 64 grains). The tremissis during the same period weighs from 19 to 21 grains.

In the later reigns (Sico, Sicardus, and Radelchis I, *circ.* A. D. 817–851) the weight of the solidus falls off, and is commonly *less* than 60 grains.

The weights of the heaviest specimens of the denarius in the British Museum are as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Grimoald III. | 22·1 grs. (chipped); also about 24 and 21 grs. (Sambon). |
| Grimoald IV. | 22·1 grs. |
| Sico. | 19·9 grs.; about 21 grs. (Sambon). |
| Sicardus. | 19·2 grs. |
| Radelchis I. | 18·8 grs. |
| Adelchis. | 16·6; 18·3. grs. |

In respect of fineness the denarius is of good alloy, but the quality of the solidus and tremissis varies much. According to the analyses cited by M. Sambon, the differences of the gold coins are as follows. The coins of Romoald II are 20 carats fine, and those of Gregory from 20 to 18 carats. The gold of the three succeeding dukes—Gottschalk, Gisulf II, and Liutprand—is of 18 carats. The coins of Arichis II (A. D. 758–787) are also, at first, of 18 carats, but later in his reign only of $13\frac{1}{3}$ carats, The coins of his successor Grimoald III are of 12 carats. Those of Sico, though in a few cases apparently of fairly good gold, are on the whole much alloyed either with silver or copper.[1] Finally, under Sico's immediate successors, Sicardus and Radelchis I, the coins fall to 10 carats fine; and in the reign of Adelchis the gold coinage disappears and the currency consists solely of denarii. A similar tendency to lower the fineness of the gold may be observed in the latest coinages of the Lombard kings.

Compared with the Byzantine solidus (at least with the specimens of it that were struck at Constantinople) the Beneventan solidus was greatly inferior not only in fineness but also in weight, and was, apparently, less than half the value of the Imperial coin.[2] The weight of the Byzantine solidus was always (at Constantinople) more than 60 grains, and the heaviest extant specimens usually weigh 68–70 grains.[3]

**Types, &c.**

The duchy (afterwards, from 774, the principality) of Beneventum, founded about 571 by Duke Zotto, soon acquired the geographical extent that it maintained for several centuries, and may be described, approximately, as including the old provinces of Samnium,

exchange value of the denarius, there is evidence in the time of Grimoald IV, A. D. 816, that 18 denarii went to the solidus (Sambon, p. 16). About the end of this (ninth) century, 48 denarii were reckoned as equivalent to the solidus.

[1] We have already noted that from Sico's reign onwards the *weight* of the solidus is somewhat lower than in the earlier period.

[2] See Sambon, p. 10 and p. 16.

[3] Brit. Mus. Cat. *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. lxxiv.

Apulia, Campania, Lucania, and Bruttii.[1] It was at all times bound only by a slender tie to the Lombard and the Frankish kings, and its rulers made war or peace with Pope and eastern emperor on their own initiative. More especially were they in touch with Byzantium; and the Lombards of Beneventum may be said to have served as intermediaries between the Carolingian and Byzantine civilizations.[2]

We have already seen that the initiation of a distinctive Beneventan coinage did not take place till the time of Romoald II (706–731), and even his solidus is a close imitation of the solidus of the Emperor Justinian II, displaying on the *obv.* both the bust and name of this emperor, and on the *rev.* a cross potent on steps and the legend *Victoria Aug.* The tremissis is very similar. In this reign (as in later reigns) the name of the Beneventan issuer is indicated only by its initial letter. These are neatly executed coins (Pl. XXI. 5–15), but they already display the peculiar style that is characteristic of the Beneventan money—rough, high relief, and an arid and angular delineation of the bust.

**Romoald II.**

Under Audelais, Gregorius, and Gottschalk the types of these gold coins remain unchanged.

**Successors of Romoald II.**

The types of Gisulf II (A. D. 742–751) are also similar, but in his second coinage the Imperial bust holds the mappa in addition to the globus cruciger. The money of Liutprand (751–758) is like Gisulf's. In the early part of his reign his mother Scauniperga was regent, and the coins of that period are marked with the letters S and L.

The reign of Arichis II (A. D. 758–787), who became duke in 758, and who in 774 assumed the title of prince, is in several ways important. He was a brave and capable man, of considerable literary culture,[3] and he embellished the city of Beneventum and built there the church of St. Sophia and the monastery. He forced Naples to pay tribute, fortified Salerno, and made it his second capital. When the Lombard kingdom fell in 774 at the hands of Charlemagne, he had the courage to hold his own, nor was the Beneventan duchy ever actually incorporated with the dominions of the Carlings.[4]

**Arichis II.**

His coinage is abundant and, though in the course of his reign it fell in respect of fineness from 18 to 13⅓ carats, was in request long after his death; e. g. the later contracts specify payments in *trimissi ex monetis domni Arechis.*[5]

[1] Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vi, p. 75.

[2] Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin*, p. 47.

[3] Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c., viii, p. 60.

[4] Bury, *Hist. of later Roman Empire*, ii, p. 514. Charlemagne, however, in 787 prepared to invade Beneventan territory and Arichis promised submission.

[5] Sambon, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

M. Sambon discerns in the style of his coins 'une facile élégance'. Elegance must here, indeed, be regarded as a somewhat relative term, though no doubt the coins are carefully executed and their prominent relief is not ineffective. No. 4 in our Catalogue (second coinage; Pl. XXII. 10) is a favourable specimen. His earliest pieces are similar to those of Gisulf II, but in his second period he removes from them the name of Justinian II which had continued to form the obverse legend of the Beneventan coins ever since the time of Romoald II, and which had dwindled down to the almost unintelligible DNIVNPP or DN–VNPP. This he replaced by the inscription DNS VICTORIA (*Dominus victoriam dat*?), a pious but neutral selection, as if he were unwilling to place on his coins either the name of an emperor or his own. Meanwhile, the conventional *Victoria August.* continued to constitute the reverse legend till the year (774) in which Arichis assumed the title of Princeps, when *Victoria Princpi* was substituted.

**Portraiture on Beneventan coins.**

In the matter of portraiture the coins of Arichis and also those of his successors are entirely disappointing. In fact, a single head of a rather ruffianly appearance does duty for each successive prince. This head, as it first appears under Arichis II, is to some extent distinguishable from that on the coins of his predecessor Liutprand, but the difference is not sufficient to authorize the belief that the Arichis head has any claim to be a true portrait of the issuer; and with regard to the head on Liutprand's coins it is clearly developed from the head on the coins of Romoald II, which (as the inscription testifies) was a representation of Justinian II. Strictly, then, the only portrait found throughout the whole Beneventan coinage is that of a single Byzantine emperor, slightly varied during a long course of years.

**Grimoald III.**

Grimoald III (788–806), the next prince, was, like his father Arichis II, brought into close connexion with Charlemagne. Grimoald was recognized by the Frankish king as the legitimate successor of Arichis on the conditions that he inscribed Charlemagne's name on the Beneventan coinage[1] and paid an annual tribute of 7,000 solidi. The gold coins of Grimoald—at least in the first period of coinage (788–792)—accordingly bear the name of *Dominus Carolus rex* on their reverse, while on the obverse is the name *Grimvald*,[2] with the title of *dux* (Pl. XXIII. 1). Even this title is sometimes omitted, and we may gather that Grimoald was not permitted by his arrangement with Charlemagne to take the title of *princeps*.

[1] Erchempert, 5, quoted by Sambon, p. 14; cp. the passage in Erchempert, 4; p. 236, in *Mon. Germ. script. rerum Langobard.*, quoted by Prou, *Monn. Carl.*, p. lxxviii.

[2] Previous to this reign the name of the Beneventan ruler had been indicated by an initial only.

Grimoald also introduced a silver coinage,[1] which naturally took the form of a Carolingian denarius, with his own name on one side and that of Charlemagne on the other, both in monogram (Pl. XXIII. 6).

Later in his reign, however (792–806), Grimoald discovers some of the independent spirit of his father Arichis by repudiating the Frankish suzerainty and marrying a niece of the Emperor Constantine VI. And the coins of this period display his sole name accompanied by the title of *princeps*. His denarius has his name in monogram on the *obv.*, and on the *rev.* a cross between A and Ш and the word BENEBENTV which had not till now appeared on the coins.[2]

**Grimoald IV.**

Grimoald IV (806–817) is not known to have issued gold coins. His denarius has a new type, apparently a stylized representation of an ear of corn and ivy-leaves; on the reverse, a star and the words *Archangelus Michael*. He calls himself on the coins *Grimoald Filius Ermenrih*, without any title.

**Sico.**

Sico (817–832) styles himself on his coins *Sico princeps*. On his solidus he places a full-length figure of St. Michael, perhaps suggested by the *Archangelus Michael* inscription on the denarius of his predecessor. A figure of St. Michael had long before formed the distinctive type of the coinage of the Lombard kings, for the warrior archangel was believed to have led the Lombard arms to victory when Italy was invaded, and the grotto of Mount Garganus, where the Saint had manifested himself, was a Lombard sanctuary.[3]

**Sicardus.**

The money of Sicardus (832–839) is substantially like that of his father Sico, but on the reverse of the solidus he substitutes for the figure of the archangel a cross potent on steps, a change perhaps due to commercial considerations, the cross being a much older and more familiar Beneventan coin-type. Sicardus made efforts to extend the commerce of the principality, and his coinage is abundant; but ever since the death of Arichis II the *gastaldi*, with their strong castles and armed adherents, had been growing more powerful; the state lacked cohesion, and after the death of Sicardus its disintegration begins.

The solidus of the next prince, Radelchis I (839–851), is of the same

[1] The only previous silver coins were the small pieces rather doubtfully attributed to Duke Gregory, p. 159, *infra*.

[2] But on the gold coins CONOB had been engraved in such a way that the letter B was prominent and separated from the rest of the word; thus, $\overset{\text{PRINCIP}}{\text{C}_{\text{ONO}}}\text{B}$, and it is not unlikely that the B was intended to signify Beneventum.

[3] Cp. Gay, *L'Italie mérid.*, p. 147, who quotes from the beginning of the *Chron. S. Bened.* (*Script. R. L.*, p. 467): 'Horum princeps militie celestis exercitus Michahel extitit archangelus . . . Graecorum Romanorumque Langobardi gentes superantes, totam simul Beneventi possiderunt patriam.'

type as that of Sicardus,[1] but for one of the three types of his denarius he revives the designs of Grimoald IV (the stylized ear of corn; *rev.* cross radiate). Under Radelchis, the gold coinage—by courtesy so called, for it was now only 10 carats fine—comes to an end.

**Radelchis I, and Siconolf.**

Nearly the whole of his reign was occupied by a contest with Siconolf, the brother of Sicardus—Radelchis employing the services of a band of Saracens, and his rival a band of Moors. Finally, Siconolf renounced the title of 'Prince of Beneventum', and contented himself with that of Prince of Salerno. It may be noted that the denarii struck by Siconolf at Salerno all bear the title of Prince of Beneventum, and are closely modelled (as is also his solidus) upon the Beneventan coins, especially those of his brother Sicardus.[2]

Salerno had been occupied by the rulers of Beneventum in the first half of the eighth century, but since the year 839, when Siconolf was proclaimed its prince, it was lost to the Beneventan state, and we now find the Princes of Salerno and the Counts of Capua beginning to take the leading part among the Lombards of South Italy.[3]

The coins of Adelchis (853–878) and those of his successors are of silver only (denarii), yet evidently the gold coins of earlier princes continued in circulation, for in the reign of Adelchis, or a little earlier, the Salerno contracts mention the 'old' solidi of Sicardus and even the 'good' tremisses of Arichis II.

**Adelchis, and successors.**

On the denarii of Adelchis the cross is the chief device, and in some instances the words *Sancta Maria* and *Archangelu' Mih.* are inscribed. In the period between 866 and 871 the name of Adelchis appears on the coins in conjunction with that of the Emperor Louis II, who had obtained at Beneventum the submission of Adelchis, and the coinage, to this extent, recalls the days of Grimoald III and Charlemagne.[4]

The denarii of Gaideris, Radelchis II (first reign), and Aio (i. e. from A. D. 878 to 890) bear monogrammatic devices.

In 891 Beneventum was captured by the Greeks. It then fell into the hands of Guy of Spoleto and of Prince Guaimar of Salerno. In 897 Radelchis II was restored, but was expelled in 899, and the Beneventans acknowledged Atenolf, Lord of Capua, as their prince (A. D. 900–910).

[1] The legend of the *rev.* is, however, changed by Radelchis from the *Victor. Princi* of Sicardus to *Archange. Michael*, which may have been suggested by the legend on the denarius of Sicardus.

[2] For a description of the coins of Salerno see Sambon, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 f.

[3] Gay, *L'Italie mérid.*, p. 62.

[4] For a coin which appears to bear the name of Pope John VIII in conjunction with that of Adelchis see Sambon, No. 88, and cp. p. 186, *infra*.

## § 5. Coinage of the Empire of Thessalonica.

A. D. 1222–1243 (1246).

The Frankish kingdom of Salonika, which had been founded by Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, after the fall of Constantinople in 1204, was conquered from his successor Demetrius (1207–1222) by Theodore Angelus Comnenus Ducas, the despot of Epirus.

Theodore, in 1222,[1] caused himself to be crowned 'Emperor', assumed the gorgeous Imperial dress and held his Imperial court at his capital Thessalonica. But this western 'Empire' did not stand alone, for there had already existed in Asia Minor, since the catastrophe of 1204, an Empire of Nicaea and an Empire of Trebizond. Thus, in the year 1222 there were three rulers, each claiming to be the lawful 'Emperor of the Romans'. Of these, the Nicaean Emperor, the able and ambitious John I ('III') Vatatzes, who was bent on restoring the unity of the Greeks under his sceptre,[2] soon came into conflict with Theodore Angelus, whose Empire of Thessalonica extended from the shores of the Adriatic to the Black Sea. Theodore might have held his own had he not become involved in war with the powerful Tsar of Bulgaria, John Asan, by whom, in 1230, he was defeated and made prisoner.

**THEODORE ANGELUS, 1222–1230.**

Theodore's title of emperor was taken by his brother Manuel Angelus, who ruled over the remnant of the Empire that the Bulgarians had not appropriated. But after a short reign Manuel was ousted (1232) by Theodore, who had now been released from captivity.

**MANUEL ANGELUS, 1230–1232.**

Theodore, who had been blinded by the Tsar, set up as emperor his son John Angelus, who ruled till 1243, when he was compelled by the Nicaean Emperor, John I ('III') Vatatzes, to relinquish the Imperial title, though he retained till his death in 1244 the position of ruler of the city of Thessalonica.

**JOHN ANGELUS, Emperor, 1232–1243. Despot of Thessalonica, 1244.**

Demetrius, brother of John Angelus, likewise ruled the city for a short period, but in 1246 he was removed by John I Vatatzes, who then incorporated all that remained of the Empire of Thessalonica with his own Empire of Nicaea.

**DEMETRIUS, Despot of Thessalonica, 1244–1246.**

The numismatic study of the Empires of Thessalonica and Nicaea,

[1] Or in the summer or autumn of A.D. 1223?: see *B. Z.*, v, p. 212.

[2] W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 95.

especially of the former, is still in an unsatisfactory condition owing, no doubt, to the comparative difficulty of obtaining specimens of the coins, which, being poorly struck and badly preserved, have been neglected by collectors and coin-dealers; owing, also, to the illegibility of many of the legends (due sometimes, as may be suspected, to deliberate erasures in antiquity); to the conventionality of the types (which, however, at the same time present numerous varieties and combinations), finally to the difficulty of separating the coins from the Imperial issues of Byzantium, and of discriminating the money of different rulers who bore such common names as Theodore and John. Sabatier, in his *Monnaies byzantines*, made a courageous attempt to describe these coinages, but his descriptions and attributions undoubtedly demand a searching scrutiny.

**Metals and types.**

Although *nomismata* in gold have by some numismatists been attributed to the Emperors of Thessalonica, and though it appears *a priori* probable that at least such an aspiring ruler as Theodore would issue coins in the precious metals, it yet seems to be the fact that the only *nomismata* issued were in silver and bronze.

Theodore (though not invariably), Manuel, and apparently John,[1] engrave on their coins the title δεσπότης, at that period equivalent to 'Emperor', and wear the Imperial dress. Their coins, in fact, are hardly to be distinguished, except to some extent in fabric and style, from the issues of Byzantine Emperors. The types are of the usual Byzantine character—representations of the Saviour and the Virgin and of the Archangel Michael. One saint, Demetrius, the martyr of Thessalonica, is given special prominence on the coins of the ΠΟΛΙC ΘΕCCΑΛΟΝΙΚΙ,[2] yet he also is found on the coins of the Byzantines, Alexius III, Manuel I, and Andronicus III.[3]

## § 6. Coinage of the Empire of Nicaea.

Of the three Greek 'Empires' which came into existence after the Frankish conquest of Constantinople in 1204, the Nicaean was—at least during the brief period of its existence—the most important. Not only did the city of Nicaea become the refuge of the aristocracy and the higher ecclesiastics, but the state was governed by a succession of

[1] There seem to be no coins bearing the name of John and his successor Demetrius as rulers of the city Thessalonica (i.e. after the title of *Emperor* of Thessalonica had been relinquished in 1243). But the anonymous pieces with sacred types, described p. 202, *infra*, 'Coinage of Thessalonica?' may possibly supply the gap in the coinage.

[2] This inscr. occurs on No. 2 of Manuel, *infra*, p. 198.

[3] See B. M. C. *Imp. Byz. Coins*, Index III, under 'St. Demetrius', and the note, p. 573.

singularly able and upright rulers, who kept in view as a grand and definite object the recovery of the lost Empire.

**THEODORE I Lascaris, 1204, (crowned 1206)–1222.**

The first of these rulers, Theodore I Lascaris, was successful in his encounters with the Latins and the Seljūks, and practically united the whole of western Asia Minor under his sceptre. He doubtless inaugurated the Nicaean gold coinage, which was continued under his successors. In design and style this coinage is conventional and dry, and better examples of Nicaean coin-engraving are to be found on the silver and bronze nomismata. But the existence of a coinage in gold points to the commercial importance of Nicaea as compared (at that period) with Trebizond and Thessalonica. The gold nomisma of Theodore I happens to be very rare, and is not represented in the British Museum. The gold nomismata of John I weigh from 69 to 73·3 grains (Brit. Mus.), and two nomismata of Theodore II (Brit. Mus.) weigh 65·8 and 66·3 grains. The extant gold coins of Theodore II and many of those of John I are considerably alloyed, and we know from Pachymeres that John I issued coin of which only two parts were of pure gold and the remaining third alloy.[1]

**Nicaean gold coinage.**

On his gold coins, Theodore I—if the attribution is correct—takes the title of Porphyrogenitus, though his only connexion with the Imperial house was through his marriage with a daughter of Alexius III. On his other coins he usually inscribes the title *despotes*. On his silver and bronze coins he places himself under the protection of his namesake St. Theodore, a saint found also on a seal that is probably his.[2] His coins are of careless execution, with the exception of the silver nomisma, Pl. XXVIII. 1–3.[3]

**Titles, &c., of Theodore I.**

John I Ducas Vatatzes, the second Emperor of Nicaea, had high qualities both as statesman and general.[4] He was strict in the administration of justice, a financial reformer, and a promoter of agriculture and commerce. His long reign witnessed the further weakening of the Latin power and the incorporation (in 1246) of the rival Empire of Thessalonica with his own, and the submission (in 1254) of Michael of Epirus, the last independent despot of the Greeks.

**JOHN I ('III') Ducas Vatatzes, 1222–30 Oct. 1254.**

On his gold coinage, which is particularly abundant, John I takes the title Porphyrogenitus, though he was not even the son, but only the son-in-law, of his predecessor Theodore I. That he put forward pretensions

[1] Cp. Finlay, *Hist. Greece.* iii. 320.

[2] See note, p. 207, *infra*.

[3] Weight of silver nomisma. *Theodore I*, 68 grains (Paris); *John I*, 50·7 grains (highest, Brit. Mus.); *Theodore II*, 49·2 grains (highest, Brit. Mus.).

[4] Cp. Heisenberg in *B. Z.*, xiv, 1905, pp. 160 f.

to royal descent may be judged from the inscription on a seal which is with probability attributed to him[1]:—СΦРАГІС СЄВАСТОУ ІѠАННѲ ТѲ ΔѲКА РІΖАН ГЄΝОУС ЄΧΟΝΤΟС ЄК ΒΑСІΛЄѠΝ.

The silver nomismata of John I (Pl. XXX. 1–4) are of a curious bracteate-like fabric, and the designs are of good work for the period and rich in appearance. St. Demetrius and St. George and a Seraph (head) are represented on his coins,[2] and on the silver he is crowned either by the Christ of Chalce (Pl. XXX. 2–5) or by St. Constantine (Pl. XXX. 1). This last-named saint is not elsewhere commemorated on the Nicaean coins, and on the Imperial Byzantine coinage perhaps only occurs under Alexius III. It may be legitimate, therefore, to find some special significance in John's selection of this type. Now, John I (as has been mentioned) was not the son, but the son-in-law of his predecessor, and Theodore I had left behind a young son named Constantine.[3] Nothing is known of the fate of this boy or in what way he was set aside by John. Possibly for a time John affected to rule as regent, and the type of the Emperor John crowned by St. Constantine may have been intended to suggest that John ruled with the benediction and approval of the patron saint of the young Constantine.

It may be noted that John I established the royal residence at Nymphaion, a town between Smyrna and Sardis at the foot of Mount Sipylos, and had his royal treasury—which he kept well filled—at Magnesia.[4] But as the city of Nicaea continued to be the seat of the government and of the Patriarch, we may assume that it was there that the coins of the Nicaean Emperors were minted.

Theodore II, a brave and able man, interested both as author and patron in literature and philosophy, laboured during his short reign for the happiness of his people, and was a true 'roi philosophe'.[5]

**THEODORE II Ducas Lascaris, 1254–Aug. 1258.**

On his coins he calls himself Theodore Lascaris, Theodore Ducas, and Theodore Ducas Lascaris.[6] He takes the title *despotes*, but discontinues the Porphyrogenitus epithet employed by his father, John I.

His most distinctive coin-type is a figure of Tryphon, the patron saint of Nicaea, and one to whom he had especially displayed his devotion.

John II Lascaris, the young son of Theodore II, was soon ousted by

[1] Schlumberger, *Sigillogr.*, pp. 428, 429.

[2] He strikes small bronze coins in addition to the scyphate bronze nomismata.

[3] Meliaraki, *Ἱστ. τοῦ βασ. τῆς Νικαίας*, p. 132.

[4] His successor, Theodore II, amassed a treasure at the fortress of Astytzion. J. B. Pappadopoulos, *Théodore II Lascaris.* Paris, 1908, p. 83.

[5] J. B. Pappadopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[6] His funeral oration on Frederick II is headed: *Θεοδώρου Δούκα τοῦ Λάσκαρι, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δούκα.* (Pappadopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 183.)

the ambitious Michael (VIII) Palaeologus. Michael was proclaimed joint-Emperor in Jan. 1260, and from thenceforth was practically sole ruler; nor does John appear to have issued coins.

**JOHN II ('IV')**
**Lascaris, 1258–1259.**
**MICHAEL VIII**
**Palaeologus,**
**Jan. 1260–Aug. 1261.**

The large sums disbursed by Michael in the way of donations, bribes, and rewards render it likely that he issued gold nomismata at Nicaea, and, if so, they are probably to be found in the coins with *rev.* Virgin enthroned, which are usually regarded by numismatists as forming part of the coinage that he issued at Constantinople subsequent to his recovery of the capital.[1] Yet he may have dispensed with the issue of gold coins bearing his own name and have utilized the older nomismata which he found among the treasures amassed by John I and Theodore II. One less important denomination—the bronze nomisma—was certainly issued by Michael as Nicaean Emperor, the type being St. Tryphon, as on coins of the preceding emperor.

On 15 Aug. 1261 Michael was crowned in Constantinople, and the brief, but not ignoble or valueless, existence of the Nicaean 'Empire' was merged in the larger life of the restored Empire of Byzantium.

## § 7. Coinage of the Despots of Epirus.

There are no coins of these rulers in the British Museum, and specimens seem to be very rare and of more or less doubtful attribution.

The founder of the despotat was Michael I Angelus Comnenus Ducas, a prince of the Imperial family, who established himself, soon after the great upheaval of the Empire in 1204, in territory that had not been appropriated by the Latins. Two bronze *nomismata* (*infra*, p. 226) have been attributed to him, but of his brother and successor, Theodore Angelus Comnenus, no coins are known, at any rate in his capacity of despot, for he struck money on becoming Emperor of Thessalonica (1222–1230).[2]

**MICHAEL I,**
**1205–1214.**

**THEODORE ANGELUS,**
**1214–1230.**

Coins are equally wanting, or rather, perhaps, have not been recognized by numismatists, for the reigns of Manuel, Michael II, Nicephorus I, and Thomas Angelus (i. e. the period from 1230 to 1310).

Under the succeeding rulers of the house of Orsini *deniers tournois* were struck at Arta; and descriptions of these are given in Schlumberger's *Num. de l'Orient lat.*, pp. 374 f.

Some seals of the earlier despots of Epirus are described in Schlumberger's *Sigillographie*, pp. 426 f.

[1] See *infra*, p. 224.

[2] See *supra*, p. lxix.

## § 8. Coinage of the Duchy of Neopatras (Great Vlakia).

**JOHN I Angelus Comnenus, 1271–1296.**

On the death of Michael II, despot of Epirus, his bastard son, John I Angelus, established himself at Neopatras (La Patre) and ruled over Great Vlakia, with Olympus as his northern and Parnassus as his southern boundary; his territory including Thessaly and much of the old Lokris Ozolis, running down on the east of Parnassus to the Corinthian Gulf.[1]

The title of Sebastocrator was conferred on John I, and he appears to have been the issuer of bronze nomismata (described *infra*, pp. 227, 228).

**CONSTANTINE ANGELUS, 1296–1303.**

**JOHN II ANGELUS COMNENUS, 1303–1318.**

Of his successor Constantine Angelus no coins are known. The third duke, John II Angelus Comnenus, struck *deniers tournois* of the French type inscribed *Neopatrie* or *De la Patria*.

## § 9. Coinage of the Empire of Trebizond.

### 1. The Coinage and its Arrangement.[2]

**Writers on the coinage.**

The coinage of Trebizond supplies an instance, not very rare in numismatics, of a currency of great abundance remaining unknown, or practically unknown, to collectors for several centuries. It was not until the year 1827 that the attention of numismatists was seriously called to these coins, through the modest publication by the Baron de Marchant of a few specimens of the *asper*. Though Marchant rightly assigned them to the Emperors of Trebizond, another excellent numismatist, de Saulcy,[3] maintained, because the surname 'Comnenus'

[1] W. Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 132 f.

[2] The numismatic literature is chiefly as follows:—

Marchant, *Lettres du Baron Marchant*, ed. Langlois, 1851, pp. 320 f.

Pfaffenhoffen, *Essai sur les aspres Comnénats . . . de Trébisonde*. Paris, 1847.

Koehne, 'Die Komnenischen Silbermünzen,' in the *Mémoires de la Société d'archéologie et de numismatique de St. Pétersbourg*, vol. iii, 1849, pp. 103 f.

Sabatier, *Description gén. . . . des monn. byz.*, 1862, ii, pp. 306 f.

Blau, G., 'Trapezunter Komnenaten,' in *Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*. Berlin, vol. iv, 1868.

O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt*. Moscow, 1910 (see *infra*, p. lxxv).

[3] *Essai de classification des . . . mon. byz.*, 1836, p. 423.

was inscribed upon them, that the real issuers were the Comnenian Emperors of Byzantium, and that their mint-place was Cherson. Writing in 1849, Koehne still hesitated between the Comneni of Constantinople and their namesakes of Trebizond, and setting forth the two attributions side by side and reign by reign he left the choice between them to his readers. But Koehne, however inconclusive, was able to publish many new varieties of the asper, and he also attempted a graphical reproduction of the legends and symbols—a useful plan which has been adopted in the present Catalogue and without which it would be almost impossible to study the minutiae of the coinage.

In 1847, that is, about two years before Koehne wrote, there had appeared the *Essai sur les aspres Comnénats* of Baron F. de Pfaffenhoffen, in which considerable numbers of these coins were brought together and illustrated. Many specimens have come to light since Pfaffenhoffen wrote, but his book was a very serviceable one; it suggested some probable attributions and had the advantage of being based on the historical researches of Fallmerayer, among which the most important was the discovery of the Trebizond chronicle of Michael Panaretos, which, if in many respects arid and incomplete, yet furnished historians and numismatists with a solid framework of names and dates.

An account of the Trebizond coinage found a place in the second volume of Sabatier's *Description* (1862), but only typical specimens were described, without any attempt at the enumeration of varieties. Sabatier was the first writer to publish many examples of the bronze coinage, though his attributions of these are often open to question. To these publications may be added an article by G. Blau (1868) containing descriptions of the aspers obtained by him during several years' residence in Trebizond.

The latest and best work is that of O. Retowski, which is based on an examination of a very large number of coins (especially in the Russian collections) and fully illustrated by photographs.[1]

**Attribution of the Silver Coins.**

The attribution of the coins to different rulers is rendered difficult by the paucity of distinctive types and the absence of distinguishing titles for the various Emperors. Thus, coins inscribed 'Alexius' may be claimed by the four Emperors who bore this name, and those inscribed 'Manuel' and 'John' may belong to three Manuels and four Johns.

The silver coinage—the bronze will be briefly noticed later on—may almost be said to consist of a single type, the Emperor on the obverse,

[1] Retowski, *Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt*. Moscow, 1910. I regret that this monograph did not appear till the Trebizond section of the present Catalogue was finished, the plates having been printed off and the text placed in the printer's hands. I have, however, inserted in my text references wherever practicable and I have been glad in this Introduction—though it had been previously written independently—to avail myself of the valuable numismatic material collected by M. Retowski.

St. Eugenius on the reverse. On the great mass of the coins these figures are represented as standing, facing the spectator, but on a smaller, though not inconsiderable number, the same figures appear seated on horseback.

There has been general agreement among numismatists that the standing-figure type was the first to be introduced and that it was then superseded by the equestrian type. But Pfaffenhoffen, Sabatier, Blau, and others (though not M. Retowski) who are of this opinion seem to maintain a highly improbable view when they assign to the latest Emperors of Trebizond coins not of the equestrian but of the standing type. Having regard to the type alone—and apart from considerations of weight and fabric—it is extremely unlikely that when the equestrian type had become familiar and almost stereotyped there would have been a reversion to the long-abandoned standing-type. Those coins with standing figures which have been supposed, chiefly on account of the rudeness of their style, to be the latest issues of the Empire can equally well, or better, be regarded as foreign issues imitative of the coins of the earlier Emperors, which coins they, in fact, in essential points resemble. Thus, an asper inscribed IW (John) is not to be assigned to the middle of the fifteenth century and the reign of John IV, but to the latter part of the thirteenth century and the period—or thereabouts—of the reign of John II, when standing figures, not yet ousted by equestrian ones, were the customary coin-types.

From this broad division between standing and equestrian types several attributions seem inevitably to result. Thus, the coins which bear the name 'Alexius' can none of them be of Alexius I, because in his time, or at any rate in that of his immediate successors, the standing figure was in vogue, and these 'Alexius' coins are all of the *equestrian* type. The coins, then, belong, at the earliest, to Alexius II, though some may be assigned to Alexius III and Alexius IV. Similarly, in the case of coins inscribed with the name 'John', we are obliged (having fixed the introduction of the equestrian type to the reign of Alexius II) to assign such specimens as present standing figures to a period *before* Alexius II, i. e. to John I and John II, and attribute those which show equestrian types to the period *after* Alexius II, i. e. to John III and (as Retowski has shown) to John IV.

The main outlines of attribution being fixed, it is desirable to group the coins of the different reigns with some regard to the numerous symbols (star, pellet, lis, &c.) and letters which appear in the field. An attempt has been made in this Catalogue to describe these groups with minuteness, but their sequence and the significance of symbol and letter still present various points of difficulty.[1] Something further will be said on this head in section 5 *infra*.

The bronze coinage has received comparatively little notice from writers

[1] The recent work of Retowski sets forth all the minutiae with great fullness.

on Trebizond.[1] It was once, probably, sufficiently abundant, and should the attention of coin-collectors be turned more than hitherto in the direction of the subsidiary Byzantine series it is likely that not a few specimens will be identified and described. The attribution of some classes of these coins will be found discussed in the text under 'Alexius III', p. 297, *infra*, and it may be enough to say that the earliest pieces seem to be those of the largest module, and that, while on the earlier coins only figure-subjects occur—chiefly the Emperor and St. Eugenius—on the latest coins new devices, such as varied forms of the Cross, are employed as reverse-types.

**Bronze Coinage.**

## 2. The Emperors and their Coinage.[2]

The founder (in the year A. D. 1204) of the Empire of Trebizond, which was soon to become famous for the luxury of its court, the beauty of its princesses, and the wealth derived from its unique commercial situation, was Alexius I Comnenus, who assumed and handed on to his successors the title of *Μέγας Κομνηνός*. The surname Comnenus belonged to him as a grandson of Andronicus I Comnenus, the Byzantine Emperor, and 'Great' was a favourite epithet of many princes of that age.[3]

**ALEXIUS I, the founder, A. D. 1204–1222.**

Alexius paid tribute to the Seljūk sultan of Rūm (Iconium), but his long reign was prosperous commercially. His currency is a mystery. It would naturally be supposed that it was of a Byzantine character, consisting mainly of scyphate nomismata of gold and silver, like the currency of the Nicaean Emperors. But of the existence of such pieces there is no trace, though the coinage of silver nomismata (*circ.* 1238) by one of his successors (Manuel I) may possibly suggest that it was imitated from a model supplied

[1] See, however, the descriptions in Retowski's work and his Pl. XV.

[2] The chief authorities for the history are:—

Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt.* Munich, 1827.

Fallmerayer, *Original-Fragmente* in *Abhandlungen der Königl.-Bayerischen Akademie*, Hist. Class., vol. iii (1843), pt. 3; also in vol. iv (1844), pt. 2, where the text of the Trebizond Chronicle of Michael Panaretos is printed (cp. Krumbacher, *Gesch. byz. Lit.*, pp. 393 f.).

Finlay, *History of Greece*: an interesting account of the Empire in vol. iv, pp. 307–427.

T. E. Evangelides, Ἱστορία . . . Τραπεζοῦντος. Odessa, 1898.

Reference may also be made to Papadopulos-Kerameus, *Fontes historiae Imperii Trapezuntii*, i, St. Petersburg, 1897 (cp. *Byz. Zeitschrift*, vi. 630); Millet in *Bull. corr. hell.*, xix, 1895, pp. 419 f. (Churches, &c., of Trebizond); Bury's ed. of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, vi. 420, 421; W. Fischer, 'Trapezunt und seine Bedeutung in der Geschichte,' in *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Geschichte*, Stuttgart, vol. iii (1886), pp. 13–39; Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant.*

[3] As to the title of the Trebizond Emperors on the coins see *infra*, section 4, 'Inscriptions.'

by Alexius. The institution of the silver asper—the typical currency of Trebizond—is due, so far as we know, to one of the successors of Alexius.[1]

**ANDRONICUS I Gidos, 1222–1235.**

During the reign of Andronicus I, Alexius's son-in-law, the little Empire on the Black Sea had to submit to the revolt and loss of Iberia; but Cherson and its other possessions in the Crimea continued to be held, and a not unfavourable treaty was concluded with the Seljūk sultan. There is still no trace of the issue of a coinage.

**JOHN I, 1235–1238.**

Of the three years' reign[2] of John I Axuchos, brother-in-law of Andronicus I and eldest son of Alexius I, hardly anything is known, yet Pfaffenhoffen seems right in attributing to him some of the many silver pieces that bear the name 'John'. He is thus, apparently, the originator of the famous 'Comnenian Aspers' of whose types and value some account will be given in sections 3 and 4.

**MANUEL I, 1238–1263.**

A great and varied mass of aspers (with the standing-figure types) bears the name of 'Manuel', who, as cannot be doubted, was Manuel I, a son, like John I, of the first Emperor Alexius I. He continued to satisfy the claims of the Seljūks and the Mongols, and his long reign of twenty-five years was prosperous. From the fact that Kirmaneoul (i.e. 'Kuros' or 'Kurios' Manuel) became the generic name for money in Georgia,[3] it has been reasonably inferred that it was in the reign of Manuel that the silver coins of Trebizond became for the first time well known and popular in commerce, and that the imitations of this coinage probably circulated in Iberia or other countries beyond the limits of the Empire.[4]

[1] The bronze nomisma referred to on p. 230, *infra*, as being attributed by Sabatier (Pl. 67, 4) to Alexius I is of uncertain attribution, though doubtless of a Trebizond Emperor (Retowski, *Komn.*, p. 186, repeats Sabatier's description but places it under 'Uncertain' of Trebizond). On p. 230 I have remarked that the repetition of the name of 'Eugenius' on each side of this coin gives cause to suspect the correctness of Sabatier's reading. Since then I have discovered among some 'uncertain' coins in the British Museum the *actual* specimen described and figured by Sabatier. It was acquired by the British Museum of H. Hoffmann of Paris in 1864, 4–8–22 (Retowski's statement, p. 186, that the coin described by Sabatier is now in the Stroganow collection is therefore incorrect); it is in very poor condition and the legends are almost entirely illegible:—*Obv.* An emperor and the Saviour (?) holding patriarchal cross between them; *rev.* St. Eugenius (?) standing.

[2] As to the duration of the reign see Fallmerayer, *Orig. Frag.*, Part II, p. 12, note 2, and p. 42, note 3: 'Six years' in the MS. of the Chronicle of Panaretos is evidently an error for 'three years'. Evangelides, *op. cit.*, p. 71, states that John reigned *six* years, and places the death of John and the accession of Manuel I in A. D. 1241.

[3] See text, *infra*, p. 256.

[4] The exceptional output of the coinage may perhaps be partly accounted for by the great increase in the transit-trade of Trebizond, which probably began to take place (after A. D. 1258) in the last years of Manuel I: see *infra*, p. lxxx.

Yet, though the asper-coinage seems to be specially identified with the reign of Manuel, it is curious to find that he also issued a silver currency of scyphate nomismata, entirely of the conventional Byzantine character (Pl. XXXII. 6–10). The attribution of these coins (proposed by Sabatier) can hardly be disputed, and we can only conjecture either that the Emperor was imitating similar nomismata of the founder Alexius I, or that the coinage (in imitation of the nomismata of the Nicaean Empire) was introduced in an experimental way at the beginning of his reign and then abandoned in favour of the aspers, which thenceforward were never superseded.

In this reign we note the first appearance—or the first certain appearance—of a currency in bronze.

Manuel I left three sons who became successively Emperors of Trebizond —Andronicus II, George, and John II.

**ANDRONICUS II, 1263–1266.**

Of the three-years' reign of Andronicus II no coins exist, and perhaps the enormous currency of Manuel I rendered a new coinage—at any rate in silver—unnecessary.

**GEORGE, 1266–1280.**

But it is much more difficult to account for the entire absence of silver issues during his successor's reign of fourteen years,[1] for the reign of George, though troubled by the aspiring and rebellious attitude of the great 'feudal' lords, was a period of national independence: the power of the Seljūks and Mongols was waning, and it was possible to concentrate upon the Turkomans when they attacked the frontiers.

**JOHN II, 1280–1297.**

In the reign of John II, the third son of Manuel I, the Empire was no longer in vassalage to the Mongols. The abundance of John's asper-coinage, which is nearly comparable in bulk and variety to his father's, furnishes evidence, even when we remember that John's reign was a long one, of the great commercial activity of which Trebizond was the centre.[2]

**Commercial position of Trebizond.**

Trebizond had for centuries been famed as a great entrepôt to which the Greek and Mussulman merchants resorted, to carry from thence, eastward and westward, the products of the world.[3] Under the rule of their

[1] A scarce bronze coinage is known: see p. 258 *infra*.

[2] Many coins, however, that bear the name of John II are more or less barbarous and are no doubt to be regarded not as money of Trebizond itself, but as foreign imitations, struck, probably, in Georgia. Such coins, there is reason to think, were minted—or at least remained in circulation—long subsequent to the thirteenth century: see, especially on these coins, Retowski, *Komn.*, pp. 108-29; cp. our text, *infra*, p. 272.

[3] In early Abbasid times (latter half of the eighth century, &c.) goods were brought from Constantinople for sale at Trebizond to Moslem merchants, many of whom permanently resided in the city. Thence, by the hands of Arabs or Armenians the merchandise was carried across the mountains to Malaṭiyah and other towns on the Euphrates. See G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, p. 136.

Emperors the people of Trebizond were not themselves very actively engaged in trade, though they had some products of their own to offer, and silver was obtained from mines in their mountains. But the foreign merchant was always welcome, and the State derived great revenue from the duties that it was able to impose on every kind of commercial transaction in which the alien trader was permitted to engage.[1]

In the latter half of the thirteenth century a great expansion took place in the transit-trade of the Empire, due, in the first instance, to Hūlāgū's destruction of Bagdad in A. D. 1258. Products of the East which hitherto had been carried westward by the Mediterranean were now taken north to the Black Sea[2] and to Trebizond, which thus obtained new opportunities of exacting dues and fresh openings for its own productions. Traders from the West were also attracted to Trebizond, and already in 1266–7 we hear of merchants arriving from Marseilles. But the leading merchants and carriers were Italians. During the reign of John II, and at least as early as *circ.* A. D. 1290, the Genoese appeared upon the scene, and in a few years' time (at the beginning of the fourteenth century) they are found in possession of a quarter of their own and their own tribunal. They were followed by their rivals the Venetians, who about the year 1319 obtained a similar footing in the capital.[3]

**THEODORA,** *circ.* **A. D. 1285.**

In the year 1285 John's sister Theodora, the daughter of Manuel I by Roussadan, an Iberian princess, making common cause with some of the ambitious nobles, was enabled to depose her brother and to mount the throne. Probably this usurpation did not last long (and John certainly regained his crown), but we have a witness to it in the issue of an asper of the ordinary character (also a bronze nomisma) bearing the name and figure of Theodora (Pl. XXXVIII. 1). This is the only instance of the issue of coin by a Trebizond Empress, though in the frescoes of the churches it was usual for the Empress to appear beside the Emperor, as, for example, in the Trebizond church of St. Gregory of Nyssa, where the figure of John II was accompanied by that of his wife Eudocia, daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII.

**ALEXIUS II, 1297–1330.**

Alexius II, the eldest son of John II, proved a firm administrator. He defeated a Turkoman force near Kerasunt and resisted the pretensions of the Genoese merchants to escape from toll. In this reign, as we have already noticed, a Venetian merchant-colony was established at Trebizond (*circ.* A. D. 1319). Alexius constructed a new wall for the city and repaired the ruins of Leontokastron, the fortress contiguous to the land granted to the Genoese.

A not inconsiderable coinage of aspers may be attributed to this reign,

[1] See further p. lxxxv, *infra*.

[2] Heyd, *Hist. du commerce*, ii. 93; cp. p. 68.

[3] On the Genoese and Venetians at Trebizond see Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, vol. ii, pp. 92–107, 360–5.

and a new denomination, the half-asper, makes its appearance. It is on these aspers and half-aspers that equestrian figures first take the place of the standing figures (Pl. XXXVIII. 2). It is not easy to conjecture why a change was made in such a popular and stereotyped coinage. At the time of his accession Alexius II was only fifteen and was under the guardianship of Andronicus II, the Byzantine Emperor, who interfered in his most trifling actions and who may perhaps have been responsible for the alteration in the coinage, if the coinage was issued on the accession of Alexius and before the young emperor became independent of Andronicus. Yet the equestrian type of St. Eugenius, though new on coins, was probably not unfamiliar to the people of Trebizond, for we know that it existed in art at least as early as the time of Manuel I, who was represented in a fresco of the monastic church of St. Sophia as a standing figure wearing on his breast a medallion in which was a figure of St. Eugenius seated on horseback.[1]

To the short reign of Andronicus III a few aspers have been attributed (see p. 284, *infra*); of the still shorter reign of Manuel II no coins are known. But with the accession of Basil, the son of Alexius II and brother of Andronicus III, the asper-coinage is renewed, though not in any marked abundance or variety. The Empire was, in fact, once more disturbed by the struggles of the provincial nobles for independence, and, not long after Basil's death, by the attacks of the Turkomans, who caused a great conflagration in the capital, one incident of which was the total destruction of the Venetian quarter (1341).[2]

**ANDRONICUS III, 1330–Jan. 1332.**

**MANUEL II, Jan.–Sept. 1332.**

**BASIL, Sept. 1332–Apr. 1340.**

During the reigns of Irene and of Anna, which occupy the period between April 1340 and Sept. 1342, no new coins would appear to have been issued, and John III, the idle and luxurious Emperor who followed, minted, so far as can be made out, only money in bronze.

**IRENE. ANNA.**

**JOHN III, 4 Sept. 1342–3 May 1344.**

Michael, father of John III and son of John II, renewed the asper-coinage, but from about this period the importance of the Empire began to decline. The intrigues of the nobles still continued, and in a war with the Genoese the Emperor was worsted and the fortress of

**MICHAEL, May 1344–13 Dec. 1349.**

[1] Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, iv, p. 340 n.; p. 434 n. Evangelides, pp. 72, 73. The representation of a horseman, though not found on Imperial Byzantine coins till the very latest period, had been seen on the coins of the Seljūks as early as the twelfth century. A Georgian silver coin (British Museum) of the thirteenth century (1253–1269) also shows a horseman as a type. In the Armenian series a horseman is seen on coins of Hethum and Kay-Ḳubād I, A.D. 1226–1236: Langlois, *Num. de l'Arménie*, p. 55, Pl. IV. 4.

[2] Heyd, *Hist. du commerce*, ii, p. 103.

Leontokastron was surrendered to them. Finlay has remarked that the Imperial authority in the later days of Trebizond wears rather the aspect of feudal suzerainty, blended with Oriental despotism, than that of the old Byzantine ascendancy of supreme legislator and judge.

The position did not alter during the early years of Alexius III (son of the former Emperor Basil), who, when only twelve years old, was seated on the throne by the faction then dominant. Yet, as the Emperor grew up, he was able, at least in part, to restore the predominance of the crown. His long reign of about forty years was, indeed, a kind of renaissance. The Genoese merchants at Trebizond were in possession of their old privileges and of some new ones, and the transit-trade was a source of large revenue to the exchequer. The asper-coinage, though it had now fallen in weight and hardly contained 40 grains, as compared with the 45 grains of earlier days, is at least fairly abundant and well struck and displays a number of symbols.[1] Its divisions, the half- and quarter-asper, were also coined, and the bronze coinage, though of small module, is abundant and varied in its types.

**ALEXIUS III,**
**13 Dec. 1349–20 Mar. 1390.**

There was also, at least in externals, a revival in religion, and Alexius was magnificent in his ecclesiastical donations. In honour of the birthday of St. Eugenius, long the patron of the State, and now specially invoked as the patron of Alexius and his house, he re-established a splendid festival —a *πάννυχος στάσις*[2]—in which banquets, revelry, and sacred rites were strangely blended.

But, from without, great dangers were now beginning to threaten the Empire. First, in the reign of Manuel III (son of Alexius III), the great invasion of Asia Minor by the Mongols; under Alexius IV (son of Manuel III), the onslaught of the Turkoman hordes of the Ḳuyunlī (the Black and White Sheep), and, finally, under Alexius IV and his two successors, John IV and David, those attacks of the Othmanlī Turks which culminated in the overthrow of the Empire.

**MANUEL III,**
**1390–1417.**[3]
**ALEXIUS IV,**
**1417–1446.**

For a time the Emperors fairly held their own. Manuel III, by tendering tribute and vassalage, succeeded in diverting the ravages of Tīmūr. Alexius IV, by the payment of tribute to Yūsuf and by the marriage of his daughter to Yūsuf's son, procured temporary relief, till finally, after Yūsuf's death, the Turkoman army dispersed.

[1] It ought to be said, however, that some of the aspers of larger module attributed in this Catalogue to Alexius III are assigned, on very reasonable grounds, by Retowski to Alexius II (cp. p. 279, *infra*). If his view is correct, the asper-coinage of Alexius III will scarcely deserve the credit of being well struck.

[2] Fallmerayer, *Original-Fragm.*, Part I, p. 39.

[3] On the date of Manuel's death see Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, Part II, p. 106. On the date of the death of Alexius IV see Retowski, *Komn.*, p. 179; cp. p. 7.

Nor was the prosperity of Trebizond entirely at an end, though, if we may judge from the coinage, it was already declining. Under both Manuel III and Alexius IV there is no deficiency of silver currency, but considering the length of their respective reigns the coinage is by no means superabundant. Though struck with the old types and with some variety of symbols, it had fallen still lower in weight. The silver coins of these two reigns weigh, in fact, at the highest, only from 20 to 30 grains, and it is doubtful whether they are to be regarded as degenerate aspers, or—the asper being no longer coined—as half-aspers. The frequent hostilities during this reign between the Genoese and the people of Trebizond, and their prevalence in various parts of the Empire during the succeeding reign (John IV), cannot have been propitious to the Imperial revenue.

Under John IV the coinage is confined to an apparently scanty issue of aspers or half-aspers, and David, the last Emperor, is not known to have issued money. In the reign of John, the general of Mohammad II (the conqueror of Constantinople) attacked Trebizond, and John was compelled to pay a yearly tribute of 3,000 gold pieces. Under David, in the year 1461, Trebizond was finally handed over to Mohammad. The nobles and rich landowners were compelled to remove to Constantinople, and their estates were confiscated. The magnificent palace of the Emperors was occupied by a pacha and the mass of the population enslaved.[1]

**JOHN IV, 1446–1458.**

**DAVID, 1458–1461.**

### 3. Metals and Weight.

There is no trace of a coinage in gold, though such existed in the Empire of Nicaea. The chief denomination is the silver *ἄσπρον*, which, so far as our evidence indicates, was first struck *circa* A. D. 1235 (by John I), and thus not until about thirty years after the foundation of the Empire.

**Silver coinage.**

During the thirteenth century, i. e. from John I to the death of John II in 1297, specimens of the asper will be found to weigh well over 40 grains, and, as will be seen from the weights of coins (in the British Museum [2]) recorded below, the highest weights attained are from 45 to nearly 46 grains:—

| | |
|---|---|
| John I (1235–1238). | 44·6, 44·9 grains. |
| Manuel I (1238–1263). | 44·7, 45·6, 45·8. |
| John II (1280–1297). | 44·9, 45·6. |
| Theodora (1285). | 44·5. |

[1] It is worth noting that so late as the year 1460 a new band of Italian traders, the Florentines, had acquired commercial rights in Trebizond, their import dues being fixed at 2 per cent., while they were exempted from dues on export. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce*, ii, p. 362.

[2] The weights of many other specimens are mentioned in Retowski's *Münzen d. Komn.*

In the series of rude or blundered coins which bear the names of Manuel I and John II, and which were probably not issued within the borders of the Empire, specimens rarely attain the weight of 40 grains, but usually weigh from 30 to about 38 grains. The curious aspers described on pp. 254 f. *infra* ('Manuel I'), and apparently struck after the death of Manuel I and not within the Empire, all weigh, however, above 40 grains (44·3, 46·5, &c.).

The weights of the later coinage of Trebizond may be tabulated from specimens in the British Museum as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Alexius II (1297–1330). | *Asper.* 32·8, 35·5, 36·2, 36·8, 40·5, 41·7, 42·8. |
| | *Half-asper.* 18·7, 19·6, 22·7, 27·5. |
| Basil (1332–1340). | *Asper.* 30·3, and 18· and 21· (asper or half-aspers?). |
| John III (1342–1344). | No silver coinage. |
| Michael (1344–1349). | *Asper.* 25·8, 26· (pierced). |
| Alexius III (1349–1390). | *Asper.* 31–33 grs., 38·2 highest. |
| | *Half-asper.* 17·4, 24· (pierced). |
| | *Quarter-asper.* 13·2. |
| Manuel III (1390–1417). | *Half-asper* (or *asper*?). 14·6, 16·9, 17·5, 20·5. |
| Alexius IV (1417–1446). | *Half-asper* (or *asper*?). 21·, 27·5. |

From this table it will be seen that with the opening of the fourteenth century (reign of Alexius II) the asper begins to lose weight. The average weights are lower than in the previous century, and the highest weight attained (42·8 grains) has to compare with the 45–46 grains of earlier reigns.

Under Alexius II the half-asper (highest weight, 27·5) was introduced.[1] The scanty coinages of Basil and Michael yield an asper of hardly more than 30 grains; but in the reign of Alexius III, which nearly covers the latter half of the fourteenth century, there is an apparent revival in the coinage. Even thus the asper does not reach the old level of at least

[1] M. Retowski has no special dissertation in his *Münzen der Komnenen* on metrology, but I gather from his work (see especially pp. 150, 162) that he recognizes only *one* denomination in the silver coinage of Trebizond, namely, the asper; his view being that those coins which are of unusually low weight are not half-aspers but simply aspers struck on a reduced standard, or even perhaps fraudulent imitations of the period. In determining the question a good deal will depend upon the attribution of the coins. Thus, in the case of the coins of Alexius II (*infra*, pp. 280–3), we have to deal (if our attribution to Alexius II is correct) with both heavy and light specimens which may fairly well be respectively called aspers and half-aspers. But if our attribution of these coins be not admitted, and (on the lines of Retowski's arrangement) we transfer the lighter specimens to a later reign (Alexius III), then the sole denomination of Alexius II will be the asper, and the light coins transferred to Alexius III may perhaps be called aspers of reduced weight rather than half-aspers.

40 grains, for the usual weight of this denomination under Alexius III may be stated as from 31 to 33 grains, while the highest weight attained is 38·2 grains. In this reign we have the half- and the quarter-asper.

In the reigns of Manuel III and Alexius IV, which carry us forward into the fifteenth century, the silver coinage is of smaller module than hitherto, and it is somewhat doubtful whether these—the last silver—issues of Trebizond are to be regarded as half-aspers, or as the old asper reduced in weight to about 28 grains (highest).

**Origin of the Asper.**

The name 'asper' (*ἄσπρον*) was employed in the Levant and the East as the designation of various European and Oriental[1] coins struck in silver.[2] Those issued at Trebizond appear to have received for distinctiveness (at any rate in the fourteenth century) the name of 'Comnenians', as appears from a passage in a charter of Alexius III[3]:—*Προστάσσει . . . ἡ βασιλεία μου . . . διδόναι ἐν αὐτῇ ἐτησίως ἄσπρα θεοσυντηρήτου χαραγῆς αὐτῆς τὰ δὴ λεγόμενα Κομνήνατα χίλια.* The genesis (*circa* 1235 A.D.) of the Trebizond asper is somewhat obscure. As regards fabric and weight this coin is not modelled on the Imperial Byzantine money, and even its types may be pronounced original. For the module and flat fabric it might seem likely that the Venetian silver *grosso*,[4] which must have become well known in the Eastern Empire after the Latin conquest of 1204, would furnish a pattern. But it is noticeable that the grosso (*circ.* 1235) weighs only about 35 grains, while the earliest aspers weigh from 40 to nearly 46 grains. It seems more likely that the weight of the new asper was suggested, not by the Venetian currency,[5] but by the principal silver coin (*dirhem*) which was issued by the Turks and other Oriental peoples, and which, long before and after this date, maintained a weight of about 43 grains.[6]

[1] See e. g. Sauvaire, *Matériaux . . . de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes* (1882), p. 365.

[2] *Ἄσπρος* in Byzantine and modern Greek means *white*. Svoronos (*Journ. internat. d'arch. num.*, II, pp. 352 f.) has an ingenious argument in which he contends that *ἄσπρον* (as applied e. g. to Imperial Byzantine coins of the eleventh and twelfth centuries) was originally a mere transference into Greek of the Latin word *asper*, meaning a coin rough to the touch and so unworn and fresh from the mint. Cp. Du Cange, *Dissert. de inf. aevi numismatibus*, § cvi (xcvi), 'aspri.' See also P. Lambros, *Monete inedite dei Gran Maestri . . . in Rodi*, Venice, 1865, pp. 22 f.

[3] Fallmerayer, *Original-Fragm.*, Part 1, p. 90; Pfaffenhoffen, p. 72.

[4] Called also *matapan* and silver *ducato*: B. M. Cat. *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. lxviii.

[5] On the Imperial Byzantine coinage the influence of the Venetian grosso is first traceable under Michael IX and Andronicus II, A.D. 1295–1320: B. M. Cat. *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. lxx.

[6] As to the dues paid to the State of Trebizond in the fourteenth century by Italian and other merchants see Fallmerayer, *Geschichte*, &c., pp. 319, 320, and Heyd, *Hist. du commerce*, ii, pp. 102 f. The Venetians on re-exporting merchandise by caravan to the interior of Asia had to pay a tax of 20 aspers for each animal's load. In the case of a sale in Trebizond to purchasers who were not Venetians the vendor had to pay to the

**The Nomisma.** In addition to the asper a scyphate coin, the silver *nomisma*, was struck, perhaps only experimentally, in the reign of Manuel I. A specimen in the British Museum weighs 45·7 grains; another attains 47·8 grains.

**Bronze Coinage.** It may be conjectured that the bronze coinage was more abundant than would appear from the comparatively few specimens that have been published. The following table is mainly based on specimens described in the present Catalogue:—

| | |
|---|---|
| JOHN I. | No coins identified with certainty. |
| MANUEL I. | Large flan. Size 1·05 inch. Perhaps the bronze *nomisma*. Brit. Mus. specimen weighs 48·7 grains. |
| GEORGE. | Size about 1 inch. Bronze *nomismata*. |
| JOHN II. | Scyphate (*nomisma*). Size 1 inch. Wt. 35 grains (*rev.* Bust of St. John). |
| THEODORA. | Size about ·8 inch (23 millimetres: Retowski, p. 133). |
| ALEXIUS II. | Apparently no coins known. |
| BASIL. | Scyphate. Size ·7 inch (Sabatier). |
| JOHN III. | (i) Scyphate. Sizes ·8–·85 inch. Wt. 41·2 grains. (ii) Scyphate. Size ·6 inch. Wt. 21·1 grains, &c. |
| MICHAEL. | Sizes ·75–·55 inch. Usually ·75 inch. |
| ALEXIUS III. | Sizes ·8–·55 inch. Usually ·55 or ·6 inch. |
| MANUEL III. | Sizes ·6, ·55 inch. |

## 4. TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

The obverse type is always a figure of the reigning emperor.[1] The reverse type, invariably on the aspers and its divisions, and often on the bronze, relates to St. Eugenius, who was a native of Trebizond martyred under Diocletian, and who had long been venerated as the patron-saint of the city. In the early days of the Empire, when under Andronicus I, Trebizond was beset by the Seljūk sultan, the city had been saved by the intervention of the saint, whose head was carried by the hegoumenos of his convent in solemn procession round the walls. At a later period the festival of St. Eugenius and the buildings dedicated to him gained fresh *éclat* through the munificence of Alexius III.

**St. Eugenius.**

government 3 per cent. or sometimes more. If the buyer and seller were both Venetians each had to pay 1½ per cent., or 2 per cent. if the article disposed of was sold by weight. Some articles were allowed to be imported by the Venetians duty-free, but if re-exported they had, as we have seen, to pay a duty of 20 aspers. Merchandise brought in by the Venetians from the interior of Asia had to pay 12 aspers an animal's load, and when sold within the Empire itself had to pay 1 per cent. excise duty. In 1314, 15 aspers of Trebizond appear to have been equivalent to 1 hyperpre, i. e. the Byzantine gold *nomisma* ('bezant'). Heyd, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 103.

[1] Except on the 'Uncertain Bronze' described *infra*, pp. 309 f.

'Eugenius' was one of the commonest personal names in the city; and a constant theme of the literature of Trebizond is the praise of *τοῦ ἐν θαύμασι περιβοήτου καὶ μεγάλου Εὐγενίου*.

On the coins St. Eugenius is represented as a bearded and nimbate figure, clothed in an ample mantle, fastened by a brooch. In his right hand he holds the cross (e. g. Pl. XXXIII. 9). He is usually standing facing the spectator, but from about 1297 onwards he appears (at least on the silver money) on horseback. This equestrian figure of the saint, though then an innovation so far as the coinage was concerned, had been known to Trebizond at least as early as the time of Manuel I.[1]

**Miscellaneous reverse types.**

The reverse types that do not bear any relation to St. Eugenius are not numerous. On the silver *nomismata* issued during part of the reign of Manuel I a figure of the Virgin is seen enthroned in the manner usual on Byzantine coins (Pl. XXXII. 6–10). This figure, though without distinctive attributes, would probably represent to the people of Trebizond their Virgin 'of the golden head'—the Panagia Chrysokephalos, whose church was one of the most revered in the empire, and the burial-place of several of its later emperors.[2]

A bronze coin of John II shows an interesting bust of the Baptist—*ὁ πρόδρομος* (Pl. XXXVII. 17), but the apparent absence of any representation of the Saviour and of the Virgin (except on the short-lived nomismata just described) is somewhat remarkable. The Emperor George chooses, in addition to St. Eugenius, his namesake St. George for the reverse of his bronze coinage; but the type usually found on the latest bronze of Trebizond is some variety of the cross: even thus St. Eugenius is not forgotten, for his name is often written in the angles of the cross. One variety, on small bronze coins inscribed with the name 'Alexius', is noteworthy, as showing the cross planted upon what are evidently the walls of Trebizond, for a gateway and battlements are represented (Pl. XL. 15). Interest would be added to this type if we could assign it to Alexius II, who is known to have constructed a new wall for the city; but on numismatic grounds[3] it is almost certain that the coins on which this type appears were issued by Alexius III, whose successor, Manuel III, repeated it. Alexius III himself may well have repaired or rebuilt the city wall, for he has a name in the history of Trebizond as a great builder and restorer of churches and convents. The cross—intended, possibly, for the cross always held by Eugenius—is probably fixed upon the wall in the pious spirit of *Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem*.[4]

A double-headed eagle, displayed, on the coins of Alexius III (Pl. XLI. 3),

[1] See *supra*, p. lxxxi.

[2] Millet, *Bull. corr. hell.*, xix, pp. 420 f.

[3] See *infra*, p. 297.

[4] As to the Ƀ and ƁƁ found as types on some 'Uncertain Bronze' see *infra*, p. 310.

and an eagle, sometimes with a cross on its head (Pl. XLII. 5), on the late 'Uncertain Bronze', are the only remaining reverse types that call for notice. These types, unless possibly they have, like the other reverse types, a religious meaning, may perhaps be explained as the badge or arms of the emperor. We know from contemporary paintings that Imperial personages at Trebizond were sometimes represented in robes ornamented with eagles. Thus, the robe of Manuel I displayed two rows of eagles on circular medallions.[1] The robes of John II were likewise adorned with single-headed eagles, while those of his wife Eudocia, the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII, were distinguished by double-headed eagles.[2] The church of the monastery of St. Sophia is ornamented on the façade of the western portico and at the extremity of the great apse by a single-headed eagle, which is interpreted by Millet[3] as 'the special emblem of the Comneni of Trebizond'.

**Representations of the emperor.**

The emperor on the obverse of the silver coins is represented standing, crowned (as had long been usual on the Imperial Byzantine money) by the *manus Dei*. From the time of Alexius II onwards, the emperor (on the silver coins) is on horseback and the *manus* is omitted. The portraiture of the most conventional kind—a bearded head which essentially never changes. It is useless, therefore, to confront the coins with the information that we derive from other sources as to the personal appearance of the different emperors.[4]

The variations in the Imperial costume may be worth attention, but probably not much importance is to be attached to the changes in the objects held by the emperor, except in so far as they enable the numismatist to differentiate the coins. On the aspers John I appears holding the cross and roll. Manuel I holds the labarum and roll. John II retains the labarum, but holds instead of the roll the globus cruciger. Theodora also holds the globus. Alexius II and the later emperors, who are shown on horseback, hold a sceptre with a head of varying forms which furnishes a useful clue to the arrangement of the coins,[5] even if it does not reproduce the form of sceptre in actual use by the different emperors.

[1] Finlay, iv, p. 340.

[2] According to Finlay (iv, p. 348) 'to mark her rank as an imperial princess of the East and the West' (cp. Koehne, 'Vom Doppeladler' in *Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- u. Wappenkunde*, vi, p. 5). On these figures see Finlay, iv, pp. 347, 348; cp. iv. 373 n.; 383 n.

[3] *Bull. corr. hell.*, xix (1895), p. 428.

[4] The appearance of Alexius III is known to us from a description (see Fallmerayer, *Orig. Frag.*, Part I, pp. 35 f.), from the illuminated charter of the St. Dionysius Convent, and from the seal thereto attached (Finlay, iv. 383-5; Evangelides, p. 117 n.). For paintings of Manuel I and John II see Finlay, iv. 340 n. and 348 n.

[5] See pp. 278 f., *infra*. Manuel III is the first emperor to use (on the coins) a sceptre with a three-barred cross, ‡. There is perhaps no special significance in this, but it

The inscriptions are very simple, being nothing more than identifications of the types. St. Eugenius is always accompanied by his name:—Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΕVΓΕΝΙΟC; on later coins, usually Ⓐ ΕVΓΕΝ (or abbreviated). The Baptist's title is given in monogram.[1]

**Inscriptions.**

The Emperor's name is generally given in an abbreviated form, as ΙϖC = John II, and III; ΜИΗΛ = Manuel I. It is always followed by the surname 'Comnenus', thus, ΙϖC Ο ΚΟⲘΝΗΝΟC (*John II*), Η ΚΟⲘΝΗΝ, after the name of Theodora. But this surname is not often written in full. From the lapidary inscriptions, the Chronicle of Panaretos, &c., it is quite certain that the official title of Alexius I and his successors was the 'Great-Comnenus', ὁ μέγας Κομνηνός.[2] Joinville refers to Manuel I, his contemporary, as *lequel se faisoit appeller le Grant-Comnène et Sire de Traffesontes*. But on the coins μέγας is never found except on some rare aspers attributed by Retowski (p. 162) to Alexius III. Some numismatists have, indeed, explained a solitary Ⲙ which occasionally follows the name of the emperor as the initial letter of μέγας, but a comparison of a large number of coins makes it practically certain that this letter is merely the broken-down representative of ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟC, a word which we find abridged as ΚⲘΝ, and even as ⲘΝ. It may be further noted that there is no trace on the coins of any such style as αὐτοκράτωρ or βασιλεύς, which are known from other sources to have been employed by the emperors.

The ornamental, if somewhat stiff and square, writing with its numerous ligatures—somewhat resembling the Georgian and Armenian coin-script—which is characteristic of the inscriptions and manuscripts of Trebizond,[3] is hardly seen upon the coins. Such ligatures as occur are of an ordinary kind, as ⲘΝ = ΜΝ,

**Forms of letters.**

may be worth noting that this emperor was at the beginning of his reign in possession of a fragment of the Cross of Christ which he presented to the monastery of Sumelas, as appears from the inscription on the silver shrine that holds it:—

Ἐνθάδε κεῖται τὸ τρισόλβιον ξύλον,
Ἐν ᾧ ὁ Χριστὸς ἡγίασε τὴν κτίσιν.
Ὁ Ἐμμανουὴλ τοῦ Ἀλεξίου γόνος,
Κομνηνός, ἄναξ, εὐσεβής, αὐτοκράτωρ,
Ὡς δῶρον ἁγνὸν τῇ Παναγνῳ προσφέρει.

(Quoted, Fallmerayer, *Orig. Frag.*, Part I, p. 57: the date of the dedication is A.D. 1390.)

[1] p. 276, *infra*. On the inscr. ὁ Τραπεζοῦντιος, identifying St. Eugenius on coins that were probably issued beyond the limits of Trebizond, see pp. 254–6. The epithet is also found, though rarely, even on coins of Trebizond itself (John II: see Retowski, *Komn.*, pp. 79, 80).

[2] See e. g. the titles of Alexius III in Evangelides, Ἱστ. Τραπ., pp. 113, 125. Panaretos heads his Chronicle:—Περὶ τῶν τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος βασιλέων τῶν Μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν.

[3] For examples see Fallmerayer, *Orig. Frag.*, pp. 101 f.; Pfaffenhoffen, Pl. XIV–XVII; *Bull. corr. hell.*, xix (1895), p. 424.

though there are occasional instances of some more closely resembling those of the inscriptions and manuscripts; such are Η=ΓΗ (Manuel I, p. 239); Ⅽϵ=Γϵ (Manuel I, p. 251); ⁿ=ΓϵΝΗ (Manuel I, p. 253); Ѡ=ΔѠ (Theodora).[1] As to individual letters, A is written A, Λ, or Ѧ, Ѧ. B is generally Β. M is represented by Μ and Ϻ, perhaps indifferently. Ϛ or ϛ, found on p. 241, *infra*, is apparently a form of Ξ. Λ is sometimes written ⋎ or Λ (Alexius III). The accent is inserted on some coins of John II in the name Eugenius, which is written ЄVΓ′ЄNIOC, ЄVΓЄ′NIOC, and ЄVΓЄ́NIOC.

## 5. Symbols and Letters.

The silver money (not, however, the bronze) is throughout the whole period of coinage marked by a number of letters and symbols. These signs have been little studied by numismatists, though Pfaffenhoffen (p. 79) has suggested that the letters served to indicate mints. Thus, Β was *βασίλειον*, the palace-mint; K, Kerasunt; Λ, Limnia, a strong fortress where the emperors occasionally resided; $\frac{K}{Λ}$, Λ and K, the fortress Leontokastron.

For many reasons I believe this view to be untenable. First, as regards Β, which is found both on obverse and reverse on the coins of many reigns, it is at least as likely (as suggested *infra*, p. 310) that it has a religious significance, ΒΟΗΘΕΙ, as that it is to be interpreted *βασίλειον*. K, on the coins of Manuel I, might, if it stood alone, be indicative of Kerasunt, the second city of the Empire; but doubts are raised when we find on the coins of the same Emperor Manuel that K is combined with Λ as KΛ, a combination which, according to Pfaffenhoffen, should mean 'Leontokastron', and further, that one of the coins that has K on its obverse bears Λ on its reverse, and Λ, in Pfaffenhoffen's view, should mean 'Limnia'.[2] Moreover, this K, which first occurs under Manuel I, does not, apparently, reappear till the time of Alexius IV, one of the latest of the emperors. Nor does Pfaffenhoffen's list exhaust the series of letters, for an explanation is still required of the Ν which appears on the earliest coins (those of John I); the ϛ=Ξ found on coins of Manuel I; the Ѧ found on coins of John II.[3]

[1] Also Ꝑ = Τρ, *infra*, p. 255, and Retowski, *Komn.*, p. 22: cp. Ꝺ and ⅁, p. 254, *infra*, note.

[2] This objection to Pfaffenhoffen's view had suggested itself, independently, to M. Retowski, *Komn.*, p. 19.

[3] Nos. 22-8. On one specimen, no. 22, we find $\frac{A}{Γ}$, which may possibly stand for *ἅγιος* and be a religious ejaculation, as Β on various Trebizond coins is conjectured (p. 310) to be.

Moreover, if all these letters indicate, as Pfaffenhoffen suggests, the names of mints, we should expect them to correspond to differences of style and fabric; but though it is easy to separate from the great bulk of the coinage certain series of careless or barbarous workmanship, which are perhaps merely foreign imitations, it is by no means equally easy to detect such differences in style and fabric between, e.g. the K, B, and N series of coins, as would necessarily compel us to assign them to different mints. On the whole, the style and fabric of the coinage of this Empire is remarkably uniform: there may be changes from reign to reign, but at any given time and within the limits of any one reign it is hard, if not impossible, to discover such differences as might seem to arise from the minting of the coins at various centres. The safest hypothesis, then, is that all the coins—at any rate those of silver—were struck in the capital of the Empire.[1] These letters and symbols probably, for the most part, belong to the category of secret marks, from which the mint-master could ascertain at what date, under what circumstances, and, perhaps, at what *officina* the coins were issued.

Some analysis of these signs may here be attempted, even if it is impossible to explain their individual significance. First, as to the letters. These are, apparently, to be found chiefly, if not exclusively, in the earliest reigns. Thus, John I has N. Manuel I:—B on *obv.* and *rev.*; K on *obv.*; K both on *obv.* and *rev.*; KΛ on *obv.*; KΛ on *obv.* and Λ on *rev.*; ϟ on *obv.*; Ↄ=C? on *obv.*; X (if a letter?) on *obv.* In the next reign (John II) only A (and $\frac{A}{\Gamma}$) occurs=AΓIOC? (p. xc n., *supra*), but after this, letters—except only B on *obv.* and *rev.*—are absent from the coinage.[2] The use of letters, then (excepting B, which is found in nearly every reign), would seem to have been only temporarily in vogue, chiefly during the reign of Manuel I (A.D. 1238–1263).

In addition to the letters, John I and Manuel I made a considerable use of the star and the pellet, so often found in later reigns. Although in some cases the *pellets* seen in the field of the Trebizond coins may be purely decorative, it can hardly be doubted that as a rule they are of the nature of secret or differentiating marks which a numismatist ought not to ignore. On the obverses of Manuel I we find the pellets varying in number from 1 to 9: on the reverses the number of pellets varies, sometimes, though by no means always, repeating the exact number of the

[1] Cherson, the Crimean possession of Trebizond, may be borne in mind as a possible mint, whether for the silver or the bronze. Specimens of the asper have often come from the Crimea, though this does not prove that they were struck there: see de Saulcy, *Essai de class. . . . mon. byz.*, p. 421; Blau, *op. cit.*, p. 155, says that the aspers of Manuel I usually come from the Crimea and Georgia. Retowski procured specimens during his residence in the Crimea (*Komn.*, p. 4).

[2] K, however, appears under Alexius IV.

pellets found on the *obv.*[1] The *stars* on the obverses of Manuel I are from 1 to 4 in number:—

4 stars on *obv.* and 3 on *rev.*
3 stars on *obv.* and 3 on *rev.*
2 stars on *obv.* and 2 on *rev.*
1 star on *obv.* (usually).

The pellet also plays its part in these star-series, as it does in other series in later reigns.

In the following reign (John II) we find ✱ (on reverses), and ✡ (on obverses). The cross occurs: this was found already in the reign of Manuel I, and is found under Alexius II. A curious symbol ϐ (or ? monogram of which Β is a part) is seen in this reign (p. 264). The lis (p. 263) is a new symbol.

Alexius II, under whom the equestrian types first appear, has the ✱ on *obv.* and *rev.*; also a quatrefoil ornament ⊗ on *obv.* and *rev.* (p. 280). The coins offer a new symbol, a plant or flower ⁘ which, on the aspers, is thrice repeated on the *obv.* and thrice on the *rev.* On the half-aspers ⁘ occurs on *obv.* and ⁘ on *rev.*

The coinage of Basil is perhaps only marked by pellets. Michael has ✱, also ⁘. On the more abundant issues of Alexius III we note first the reappearance of the lis (on *obv.* and *rev.*), seen previously on coins of John II. A new symbol appears, a bird's head (on *obv.* and *rev.*), which may be the head of an eagle, and so have perhaps an Imperial significance.[2] The half-asper and quarter-asper are marked by Β on *obv.* and *rev.*

Alexius III also uses the plant or flower of Alexius II in the form ⟡ (on *obv.* and *rev.*). These 'plant' coins have also an additional symbol on their obverses, either a cross or a sun.[3] The latter device deserves attention. In one case (Pl. XL. 1) it may be described as a globular mass, radiate; in another, as the rayed disk of the sun represented with human features (Pl. XL. 2). These representations are so distinct from the conventional star-symbol, that it seems legitimate to find in them some special significance. Now, in the reign of Alexius III, on the 5th May, 1361 A.D., there took place a remarkable eclipse of the sun, described by the chronicler Panaretos[4] as *οἷα οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς γενεᾷ ὥστε ἐφάνησαν καὶ ἀστέρες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*. At the time of the eclipse, which was of more than

[1] In many cases (as under Manuel I, pp. 243 f., *infra*, I have grouped the varieties according to the *number* of pellets present. M. Retowski (*op. cit.*) has also thought it worth while to enumerate the pellets, and he has combined with this enumeration an instructive arrangement suggested by the *position* of the pellets.

[2] As to the eagle on the bronze coins see p. lxxxviii, *supra*.

[3] In M. Retowski's scheme of arrangement (*Komn.*, p. 136, the coins with the sun are regarded as issues of Alexius II.

[4] § 29 in Fallmerayer, *Orig. Frag.*, Part 2; Evangelides, *op. cit.*, p. 107 n.

an hour's duration, Panaretos happened to be in the company of Alexius and the emperor's mother, at the monastery of Sumelas, about thirty miles from the capital, and he tells how they uttered many prayers and supplications. The use of the sun as a symbol would certainly serve admirably to mark the date of issue of such aspers of Alexius III as were minted about this period, and it may even be suspected that it was intended to have a prophylactic influence.[1] And doubtless the former great eclipse of the reign of Basil,[2] when the people in terror rose up and stoned the emperor, was still remembered.

The symbols of Manuel III link themselves to those of Alexius II and Alexius III, and are as follows:—

✱ on *obv.* and *rev.* (also with B on *obv.* and *rev.*).

Y on *obv.* and *rev.* (also with B on *obv.* and *rev.*).

✱ on *obv.* and Y on *rev.*

Bird's head on *obv.* and Y on *rev.*

Alexius IV has ✱ on *obv.* and Y on *rev.*, and in this reign we find the letter K (besides B and B) accompanying the ✱ of the obverse, and also joined to the Y of the reverse.

In the notes to this volume references will be found throughout to the various articles and monographs that have been used in preparing the Introduction and the descriptive Catalogue. On the historical side, these references relate more particularly to the valuable works of Bury, Finlay, and Hodgkin, and to those of Diehl, Fallmerayer, Jules Gay, Schlumberger, and Ludwig Schmidt. Among the numismatic monographs to which frequent reference is made are the essays of J. Friedlaender on the coins of the Vandals and the Ostrogoths, and Mr. C. F. Keary's *Coinages of Western Europe*, which is especially interesting and suggestive on the economic side. For the coins of the Duchy of Beneventum, M. Arthur Sambon's papers in *Le Musée* (1908) have been very serviceable; but for the coinage of the Lombard kings there is practically no guide beyond a brief section in Mr. Keary's work. The coinages of the empires of Thessalonica and Nicaea have never been thoroughly investigated, and there is much to be corrected in Sabatier's account of them in his *Monnaies byzantines*. To the recent monograph of O. Retowski on the coinage of Trebizond I have already referred on p. lxxv.

As in my previous volumes on the *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, I have pleasure in calling attention to the debt our national collection owes to its generous benefactor, the late Count J. F. W. de Salis. A great number of coins described in this volume are presentations from him to the

[1] On some aspers of this series, p. 294, Nos. 4 and 5, the place of the sun is taken by the cross.

[2] Panaretos, *Chron.*, § 9.

Trustees of the British Museum, and the original arrangement and attribution of the specimens in the Museum cabinets were no doubt largely due to his rare numismatic acumen, and it is the more regrettable that he has left behind no notes to explain or justify his views.

I have heartily to thank Mr. Grueber, the Keeper of Coins, and Mr. G. F. Hill for their care in collating the descriptions with the coins and for valuable suggestions made to me in the course of reading the proof-sheets.

WARWICK WROTH.

# CATALOGUE OF COINS

OF THE

# VANDALS, OSTROGOTHS, LOMBARDS, ETC.

# I.

# COINS OF THE VANDALS

## GAISERIC[1]

A. D. 428—25 JAN. 477

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Solidus** (Imitated from Solidus of Valentinian III, A. D. 425—455) | | |
| | | | DNPLAVALENTI N IΛNVSPFΛVG Bust of Valentinian III, r., beardless, wearing jewelled diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | VICTORI AAVGGGZ The Emperor, wearing helmet and military dress, standing facing, trampling with r. foot on human head with serpent attached; in his r., cruciform sceptre; in l., globus surmounted by Victory, who crowns him; in field, R M (Rome); in ex., COMOB | |
| 1 | 67. | Æ .8 | (Ƨ for S) | [de Salis gift] | i. 1 |
| 2 | 66·6 | Æ .8 | (Λ for A) | (Λ for A) (Ƨ for Z) [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-7] | |
| 3 | 66·4 | Æ .8 | (PLΛ) | (Λ for A) | |

[1] The attribution of the following coins to Gaiseric is conjectural (see Introd. § 1): no coins are known to be inscribed with his name (cp. Friedlaender, *Münzen der Vandalen*, pp. 14–18).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | (Imitated from Tremissis of Valentinian III) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Valentinian III r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | Within wreath, small cross pattée; in ex., COMOB | |
| 4 | 21·8 | *AV* ·55 | DNPLAVAL[E?]NTI NIANSPFAVG | | i. 2 |
| 5 | 21·8 | *AV* ·5 | DNPLAVALENTINI ANVSPF | [de Salis gift] | |
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | (Imitated from Silver Coins of the Ravenna mint of Honorius, A. D. 395—423) | | |
| | | | DNHONORI VSPF AVG Bust of Honorius r., beardless, wearing jewelled diadem (with crescent and pellet), paludamentum, and cuirass (part of inscr. and type off flan). | VRBS ROMA Roma, wearing long robes and helmet, seated l. on cuirass; in r., Victory holding wreath; in l., sceptre; in ex., RVPS (part of inscr. and type off flan). | |
| 6 | 28·4 | *AR* ·6 | | [de Salis gift] | i. 3 |
| 7 | 19· | *AR* ·5 | | [de Salis gift] | i. 4 |
| 8 | 25· | *AR* ·6 | | [de Salis gift] | i. 5 |
| 9 | 23·6 | *AR* ·6 | | [de Salis gift] | i. 6 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | (Struck subsequent to the capture of Carthage, A. D. 19 Oct. 439) | | |
| | | | XLII (42 nummi) | | |
| | | | KART HAÇO Male figure (the Vandal king?) standing facing, wearing cuirass and paludamentum; head bare; l. resting on spear; r. arm lowered; exergue plain. Border of dots. | Horse's head l., bridled; in the exergue (which occupies nearly half the coin), XIII. Border of dots.[1] | |
| 10 | 175· | Æ 1· | | [Presented by Mr. C. H. Read, P.S.A., 1905] | i. 7 |
| 11 | 174· | Æ 1· | (Described, T. Combe, *Vet. Pop. et Reg. Num.*, 1814, p. 241, No. 2) | [Cracherode bequest, 1799] | |
| 12 | 154·1 | Æ 1· | | | |
| 13 | 154·8 | Æ 1· | (Type smaller than on Nos. 10–12) | [Purchased, 1847, 6-19-72] | i. 8 |
| | | | (On Imperial Roman bronze coins countermarked XL[II] and LXXXIII see Introduction, § 1) | | |

[1] *Types. Obv.* The figure probably represents, as Friedlaender has suggested (*M. d. Vand.*, p. 36), the Vandal king, though he wears the Roman and not the Vandal dress. The coins of Gunthamund and other Vandal kings show the king in Roman costume. *Rev.* The horse's head, taken in conjunction with the legend KARTHAGO, must be regarded as appearing here as the emblem or town-arms of Carthage. A horse's head had appeared on silver coins of the city in the fourth century B.C. (see B. V. Head, *Guide to the Coins of the Ancients*, Pl. 26, No. 40), and the Vandal type may have been suggested, though not of course necessarily, by one such coin. The horse figures in the foundation-legends of ancient Carthage: cp. Justin, xviii. 5 'ibique [i.e. on the spot where Carthage was subsequently founded] equi caput repertum, bellicosum potentemque populum futurum significans'.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **XXI** (21 nummi) | | |
| | | | KART HAÇO Type as Nos. 10–12; exergue plain. Border of dots. | Horse's head as Nos. 10–12; in ex., XXI. Border of dots. | |
| 14 | 114·7 | Æ ·8 | | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | i. 9 |
| 15 | 146· | Æ ·85 | | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-459] | |
| 16 | 111·7 | Æ ·85 | | [R. Payne Knight bequest, 1824 = *Nummi veteres*, p. 217, No. 31] | |
| 17 | 95·8 | Æ ·75 | (Type smaller than on Nos. 14–16) | | i. 10 |
| | | | **XII** (12 nummi) | | |
| | | | KART HAÇO Type as Nos. 10–12; exergue plain. Border of dots. | Horse's head as Nos. 10–12; in ex., XII. Border of dots. | |
| 18 | 86·5 | Æ ·75 | | | i. 11 |
| 19 | 75·2 | Æ ·75 | | [de Salis gift] | |
| 20 | 67·2 | Æ ·75 | | [Presented by Mr. C. H. Read, P.S.A., 1905] | |
| 21 | 56·3 | Æ ·8 | | | |
| 22 | 49· | Æ ·7 | | [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-13] | |

# HUNERIC[1]

A. D. 26 Jan. 477—23 Dec. 484

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | (With name of the Emperor Honorius, A. D. 395–423) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Honorius r., beardless, wearing diadem (with crescent and pellet) and drapery. Border of dots. | Inscr. Female figure (Carthage) wearing robe and mantle, standing facing, each hand outstretched holding ears of corn[2]; in ex., star between two branches (of palm ?). Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 21· | Æ ·55 | HONORIVS PV•AÇT | ANN O K[3] [Bought of Mr. Eastwood in 1865; from the Charlemont sale] | i. 12 |
| 2 | 14·2 (*worn*) | Æ ·5 | HONORIVS PVSAÇT | ANN O IIII K [Bought of E. Aschkenasi of Tunis, 1854] | |

[1] Huneric, like his father Gaiseric, does not appear to have struck coins bearing his own name (cp. Keary, *Coinages of W. Eur.*, p. 34, as to a coin with the supposed name of Huneric): as to the attribution to him of the following coins, see Introd. § 1.

[2] Compare a similar figure accompanied by the inscription FELIX KARTÇ on silver coins of Hilderic described *infra*.

[3] The date, following *Anno*, is off the flan. K = Karthago. A specimen in the Berlin Museum (procured in Rome) is dated ANNO V (see Friedl., *M. d. Vand.*, p. 19; Keary, op. cit., pp. 33 f.). The dates are presumably regnal years of Huneric.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | **XLII** (42 nummi) | | |
| | | | Female figure (Carthage) wearing robe and mantle and with hair wreathed, standing facing; each hand raised and holding ears of corn[1]; whole in laurel wreath with circular ornament. | N$\overline{X}$·$\underline{III}$ within laurel wreath with circular ornament. | |
| 3 | 200·5 | Æ 1·1 | | [Purchased, 1847, 6-19-71] | i. 13 |
| 4 | 179· | Æ 1·05 | | | |
| 5 | 182·1 | Æ 1·1 | | | |
| 6 | 159· | Æ 1·05 | | [Louis Fraser, 1847[2]] | |
| 7 | 126·9 | Æ 1· | [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-601] | (A cross instead of a pellet in the centre of the circular ornament) | i. 14 |
| | | | **XXI** (21 nummi) | | |
| | | | Type (Carthage standing) as Nos. 3–6. | N$\overline{XX}$I within laurel wreath with circular ornament. | |
| 8 | 104·8 | Æ ·9 | | [Purchased, 1847, 6-25-18[3]] | i. 15 |

[1] The figure on the *obv.* was no doubt derived from the similar figure that had appeared on the coins struck at Carthage by Diocletian and his successors (see, e.g. Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, vi, p. 464, No. 437). The legends on Diocletian's coins of this type are:—*Salvis Avgg. et Caess. avcta Kart.*, and *Salvis Avgg. et Caess. fel. Kart.* The female personification of Carthage is represented on mosaics and other monuments of the fourth and fifth centuries (see J. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne* (1908), i, p. 344 *n.*).

[2] Coins of Byzantine emperors of the Carthage mint were included in the same purchase.

[3] Another example described, Friedl., *M. d. Vand.*, p. 38, No. 5. Specimens of the coin are rare.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | XII (12 nummi) | | |
| | | | Type (Carthage standing) as Nos. 3–6. | $\overline{\text{N}}$XII within laurel wreath with circular ornament. | |
| 9 | 73· | Æ ·8 | | [E. Aschkenasi, of Tunis, 1854] | i. 16 |
| 10 | 64·7 | Æ ·7 | | [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-14] | |
| 11 | 87·6 | Æ ·75 | | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906: purchased of Sambon] | |
| | | | IIII | | |
| | | | Bust l. (the king), beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass; in front, palm-branch. Border of dots. | $\frac{\overline{\text{N}}}{\text{IIII}}$ Border of dots.[1] | |
| 12 | 21· | Æ ·55 | | [Presented by Mr. J. Doubleday, 1846] | i. 17 |
| 13 | 17·8 | Æ ·45 | | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 14 | 17·2 | Æ ·4 | | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | i. 18 |

[1] Of the specimens referred to by Friedlaender (*M. d. Vand.*, p. 39; p. 45), one was found at Carthage, two others in Italy, in the Monte Roduni hoard. Specimens have also been found in Algeria mixed with small bronze coins of King Hilderic (see *Lettres de Baron Marchant*, ed. 1851, p. 196; cp. p. 201), and this fact suggests the possibility of the coins belonging to Hilderic himself or one of his immediate predecessors. But as the coins are in respect of their mark of value akin to those assigned to Gaiseric (p. 4) and Huneric (p. 7) I assign them to this period, pointing out, however, the uncertainty of the attribution and the possibility of their having been issued in a later reign than Huneric's.

# GUNTHAMUND

A. D. 24 Dec. 484—3 Sept 496

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | **100** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Gunthamund r., beardless, wearing jewelled diadem (with crescent and pellet), paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots. | D·N (=100 denarii[1]) within laurel wreath with circular ornament. Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 29·4 | Æ ·65 | DNRЄXÇV[N] THΛ MVNDV | [Blacas coll., purchased, 1867] | ii. 1 |
| 2 | 32·8 | Æ ·6 | DNRЄXÇVN THΛM VND | [E. Aschkenasi, of Tunis, 1854] | ii. 2 |
| | | | **50** | | |
| | | | DNRXÇ VNTHΛ Bust of Gunthamund r., beardless, wearing jewelled diadem (with crescent and pellet), paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots. | D·N within wreath[2] with circular ornament. | |
| 3 | 17·3 | Æ ·5 | | [J. G. Pfister, 1855[3]] | ii. 3 |
| 4 | 15·6 | Æ ·6 | | [Bank of England gift, 1877] | |

[1] DN almost certainly = *denarii* (as Babelon, *Traité*, i, pt. 1, p. 582). The only difficulty is the coin No. 3, where DN appears without any accompanying numeral. Friedlaender (*M. d. Vand.*, p. 9) suggested that DN = *Dominus noster*. Marchant's interpretation *Denarius novus* has found no acceptance.

[2] Presumably a laurel wreath, as on Nos. 1 and 2, but the leaves are very thin and wiry.

[3] The other coins in this purchase were chiefly Italian.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 15·3 | Æ ·5 | | [Campana sale, London, 1846, lot 1187] | |
| 6 | 14·8 | Æ ·55 | | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; from the George Sim sale, 1890, lot 694] | |
| 7 | 15·5 | Æ ·55[1] | | | ii. 4 |
| | | | 25 | | |
| | | | DN[RXC] [V]NTHA Bust of Gunthamund r., beardless, wearing jewelled diadem (with crescent and pellet), paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots. | D·N XXV within wreath. | |
| 8 | 7·7 | Æ ·4 | | [Purchased, 1854] | ii. 5 |
| | | | Bronze | | |
| | | | For bronze coins that have been attributed to Gunthamund (Keary, *Coinages of W. Eur.*, p. 31) see *infra*, 'Small bronze of Vandalic period,' Victory types, p. 21. | | |

[1] Marchant (cp. Friedlaender, op. cit., p. 25) published from the Dupoujet collection a coin reading DN L on the *rev.* This coin is not represented in the British Museum, and no original was known either to Friedlaender or to Keary. Its existence seems open to doubt: possibly it is really a mis-read coin of Trasamund (see *infra*), who issued *two* varieties of the '50' denarii piece, namely (i) with DN only, (ii) with DN L. We may perhaps conjecture that Gunthamund issued only No. (i), and that this type was reproduced by his successor Trasamund at the beginning of his reign; afterwards, in order, perhaps, to avoid confusion with the pieces of DN XXV, Trasamund modified the type by the addition of the distinctive numeral L.

# TRASAMUND[1]

A. D. 3 Sept. 496—6 May 523

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Solidus**[2] | | |
| | | | (with head of Anastasius I, A. D. 491–518) | | |
| | | | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVG Bust of Anastasius I, beardless, with head three-quarters r.; wears helmet (with plume and cross), diadem, and armour; r. hand holds spear behind his head; l. hand holds shield decorated with group of horseman attacking prostrate enemy. | VICTORI AAVGGG Victory in girdled chiton standing l., holding in r. broad cross; in ex., CONOB | |
| 1 | 67·1 | *AV* ·8 | [de Salis gift] | At end of inscr., H; in field r., star. | ii. 6 |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | (with head of Anastasius I) | | |
| | | | DNANASTASIVSPPF AV Bust of Anastasius I r., wearing jewelled diadem, paludamentum and cuirass. | VICTORIAAGVSTO RVM Victory in girdled chiton advancing r., holding in r. wreath, in l. palm-branch; in ex., CONOB | |
| 2 | 22·2 | *AV* ·55 | (PR for PP) [Purchased in 1850, 4-9-5] | | ii. 7 |

[1] On the spelling of the name see Friedlaender, *M. d. Vand.*, p. 7: cp. *Rev. arch.*, 1900, July–Dec., p. 513, No. 205, inscr. with TRASAMVNDI. For the name on the coins see Nos. 10–14, *infra*.

[2] The Vandalic origin of this solidus and of the following tremisses was suggested by de Salis. The coinage of these may, possibly, have begun during the last few years of Trasamund's predecessor, Gunthamund.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 22·3 | *AV* ·55 | (PR for PP) [de Salis gift] | | |
| 4 | 22· | *AV* ·5 | (Ends PRFAVP) [de Salis gift] | (VICTORIAAVGGTO RVMA) (COMOB) | |
| 5 | 22·1 | *AV* ·55 | (Ends PRFAVIG) [de Salis gift] | (VICTORIAAVGGTO RVM) (COMOB) | |
| 6 | 23·3 | *AV* ·5 | (DNANASTA SIVSP PAVG) | (Inscr. partly obscure) (COПOB) in field l., S [de Salis gift] | |
| 7 | 22· | *AV* ·5 | (DNANASTASIVSP RFAI •:•) [de Salis gift] | (VICTORIAAVGGTO RVMI) (style less stiff than on Nos. 2–6) | ii. 8 |
| 8 | 22·5 | *AV* ·55 | (DNANASTASIVSII AГ) [de Salis gift] | (VICTORIAAVGSTO RVM (ONOB) (style as No. 7) | |
| 9 | 22·4 | *AV* ·5 | (DNANASTASIVSP PAV) [de Salis gift] | (VICTORIAAVGSTO RVM) (CONOB) (style as No. 7) | |
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | **50**[1] | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Trasamund r., beardless, wearing jewelled diadem (with crescent and pellet), paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots. | D•N within wreath with circular ornament. Border of dots. | |
| 10 | 16·7 | *AR* ·55 | DNRÇTHR ASAMV DS | [Purchased, 1862, 4-17-43] | ii. 9 |

[1] Sabatier, i, p. 217, No. 1, describes and figures as being in the British Museum a silver coin with DN⊂—— (=100 denarii). But this coin is certainly not in the collection.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | 15·7 | Æ ·55 | DNRÇTH. (rest off flan) [de Salis gift] | (Cross in circular ornament) | ii. 10 |
| 12 | 16·8 | Æ ·55 | DNRÇ[1]TH SAMVNDS [E. Aschkenasi, of Tunis, 1854] | (D•N) | ii. 11 |
| 13 | 14·6 | Æ ·55 | DNRÇTH[R SA]MVN DS [Blacas coll., 1867] | (D•N) | |
| 14 | 15· | Æ ·55 | DNRÇTH SAMVИS | (D N) [The Earl of Enniskillen, 1856[2]] | |

[1] RÇ = *regis*. Friedlaender (*M. d. Vand.*, p. 8) remarks that the following word is in the nominative. But the S at the end of THSAMVNDS may perhaps be a mark of abbreviation, *Thsamund'* = *Thrasamundi*.

[2] Friedlaender (*M. d. Vand.*, p. 28) describes (after Falbe, *Recherches*, Pl. VI, No. 25) a silver coin with D N XXV on the *rev.* The *obv.* legend is incomplete, but would seem to be the name of Trasamund. The bronze coin in Sabat., i, p. 218, No. 6, is not of certain attribution: it is here described, *infra*, among the small bronze of the Vandalic period. *Seal of Trasamund.* Schlumberger (*Revue num.*, 1883, pp. 457, 458, Pl. X. 5) publishes the following seal in his own collection as the seal of the Vandal king:—*Obv.* Bust of Trasamund facing between two crosses. *Rev.* TRASEMVND Cross potent on steps. A word or two must be said as to this description. (i) The *obv.* bust appears to me to be intended for the Saviour and not for a Vandal king. (ii) The *rev.* type perhaps suggests a *later* period than the reign of Trasamund (the cross potent first appears on Byzantine coins in the reign of Tiberius II Constantine, A.D. 578–582). Is the inscription on the *rev.* clearly TRASEMVND and not—as Sabatier originally read it—SALVS MVNDI? I note that Schlumberger's text gives TPASEMVND and his engraving TRASEMVND.

# HILDERIC

A.D. 6 MAY 523—19 MAY 530 (*d.* 533)

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | [ 50 ] | | |
| | | | (with name of Justin I, A.D. 518–527) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justin I[1] r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots. | FELIX CARTA Female figure (Carthage) standing facing wearing robe, mantle, and wreath; in each hand, ears of corn. Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 15·6 | Æ ·55 | Ends INVSPPA | [de Salis gift] | ii. 12 |
| 2 | 14·2 | Æ ·55 | DNIVSTI NVSPPA VG | [Purchased, 1868, 5-9-5] | ii. 13 |
| | | | (with name of Hilderic) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Hilderic r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots. | FELIX KARTϚ Type (Carthage standing) as on No. 1. Border of dots. | |
| 3 | 19·3 | Æ ·55 | DNHILDI RIXREX[2] | [de Salis gift] | ii. 14 |
| 4 | 17·2 | Æ ·6 | DNHILD. RIXREX | [Blacas coll., 1867] | ii. 15 |
| 5 | 18·2 | Æ ·6 | DNHILD. RIXREX | [Campana sale, 1846, lot 1187] | |

[1] In the Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imperial Byz. Coins*, i, p. 21, I have given reasons for supposing that the coin bears the head of Justin I and not that of Justin II, and, further, for regarding it not as an Imperial issue, but probably Vandalic. A similar view had already been taken by Friedlaender (*M. d. Vand.*, p. 32). Justin I was contemporary partly with Trasamund, partly with his successor Hilderic. The present coin should, no doubt, be regarded as issued at the instance or with the approval of Hilderic, who was on terms of friendship with the Byzantine court and made an alliance with Justinian. Hilderic himself uses the reverse type on Nos. 3–7. It may be remarked that the coins with the head of Justin are of better style (at least on the *obv.*) than those with the head of Hilderic (cp. Pl. II. 12, 13 with 14–16).

[2] In an African inscr. (*C. I. L.*, No. 10,516) we find *regis Ildirix*.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | 18·5 | Æ ·65 | DNHIL. RIXREX | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 7 | 19·8 (*pierced*) | Æ ·65 | DNHILDI ..... | [Purchased, 1849, 6-28-3] | |
| | | | 25 | | |
| | | | DNHIL. (rest obscure). Bust of Hilderic r., beardless, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots.[1] | XXV within wreath. | |
| 8 | 9·3 | Æ ·45 | | [Purchased, 1868, 5-9-6] | ii. 16 |
| | | | Bronze | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Hilderic r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots. | Cross potent within wreath, with circular ornament. Border of dots.[2] | |
| 9 | 6·8 | Æ ·35 | HIL (rest off flan) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | ii. 17 |
| 10 | 8·4 | Æ ·35 | (Ends . REX ; beginning of inscr. off flan) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | ii. 18 |

[1] Other specimens, Friedlaender, *M. d. Vand.*, p. 31. Friedlaender (op. cit., p. 33) also describes a silver coin with similar *rev.* which probably has on *obv.* the name and bust of Justin I: cp. Nos. 1, 2, *supra*.

[2] For other specimens see Friedlaender, op. cit., p. 31; Thomsen, *Cat.*, Nos. 1075, 1076. Specimens occurred in a hoard found at Guelma in Algeria in 1843: *Num. Chron.*, xvii (1855), p. 5 and p. 11. See also *Lettres de Baron Marchant*, ed. 1851, p. 201; cp. p. 196. The *rev.* type may perhaps have been suggested by the gold tremissis attributed (*supra*, p. 2, No. 4) to Gaiseric.

# GELIMER

A.D. 19 MAY 530—DEC. 533

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Silver | | |
| | | | 50 | | |
| | | | DNREXÇ EILAMIR[1] Bust of Gelimer r., beardless, wearing jewelled diadem (with crescent and pellet), paludamentum, and cuirass; whole in wreath with circular ornament. | D•N; above, small cross; all within wreath, with circular ornament; whole in border of dots. | |
| 1 | 19·1 | Æ ·65 | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-57] | (Two pellets between letters) | ii. 19 |
| 2 | 19·5 | Æ ·65 | (First half of inscr. off flan) | [Blacas coll., 1867] | |
| 3 | 18·5 | Æ ·6 | | [de Salis gift[2]] | |

[1] In an inscr., *C. I. L.*, No. 10,862, DOMN GEILIMER. On the silver dish found in Italy bearing the king's name the inscr. is *Geilamir rex Vandalorum et Alanorum*: the name is therefore spelt as on the coins (*C. I. L.*, viii, suppl. 1, No. 17,412, p. 1651; Baron J. Pichon's sale *Catal.* (Paris, 1897), p. 34, No. 205[a], Pl. V). *C. I. L.*, No. 17,412, also has *Geilamir*. For other spellings, L. Schmidt, *Gesch. d. Vand.*, p. 124 *n.* In Procopius, Γελίμερ.

[2] The following silver coins have also been attributed (correctly?) to Gelimer:— Sambon, *Sale Cat.*, Sotheby's, June, 1872, lot 670, 'Monogram, *rev.* Cross in wreath'; Caucich's *Bullettino di numismatica italiana* (Florence), An. iv, 1870, p. 31, Pl. II. 2–4. Similar types.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head of Gelimer r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots. | (Monogram of Geilamir) within wreath.[1] | |
| 4 | 13·6 | Æ ·35 | ϚEIL | [de Salis gift] | ii. 20 |
| 5 | 7·2 | Æ ·35 | (Inscr. and type obscure) | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-458] | ii. 21 |
| 6 | 11·4 | Æ· 35 | ϚEIL | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |

[1] Specimens occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard: Friedl., *M. d. Vand.*, p. 45. A variety of the monogram is described, Thomsen, *Cat.*, No. 1079.

# SMALL BRONZE COINS OF THE VANDALIC PERIOD

The types, attribution, provenance, &c., of these coins will be found discussed in the 'Introduction', *supra*, § 1. The specimens are here, for convenience, classed according to their reverse types, but in some cases an attribution is suggested. It is by no means certain that all the coins here described were minted by Vandal kings, though they seem to be mostly of African origin and of the Vandal period. Some may have been issued by tribes like the Mauri (cp. Nos. 179–181 *infra*).

## VICTORY TYPES

Victory is one of the commonest types. The usual representation is a figure of the goddess turned to the left, holding wreath and palm, but there are several variations. The coins with the heads of Honorius (Nos. 1–11), Theodosius II (Victory facing, No. 42), and Valentinian III (Nos. 12–14)—Emperors who reigned A. D. 395–455—may be of the reign of Gaiseric, though, of course, possibly later. As to coins with DOMINO NOSTRO (without name of ruler), see *infra*, No. 15.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Victory to left (with head of Honorius, A. D. 395–423) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head of Honorius r., wearing diadem and drapery. | Inscr. Victory standing or advancing l., holding wreath and palm. | |
| 1 | 25·7 | Æ ·5 | DNHONORI &c. [Gadban, 1865] | VICTO &c.; in field l., P; in ex., RM | |
| 2 | 26·2 | Æ ·4 | ..... .SPFAVG [Gadban, 1865] | VICTOR &c.; in field l., P; in ex., RM? | |
| 3 | 18·6 | Æ ·4 | ..HONORI &c. [de Salis gift] | VI &c.; in field l., P; in ex., RM | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 18·6 | Æ ·4 | DNHONORI &c. [de Salis gift] | VICTO &c. (type rude); in field l., P; in ex., R | |
| 5 | 16· | Æ ·4 | (Inscr. obscure) [Gadban, 1865] | VICTOR &c.; in field l., P | |
| 6 | 16·4 | Æ ·45 | .....VSPFA [Gadban, 1865] | ..... IAAVGG; in field l., S | |
| 7 | 17·2 | Æ ·45 | .....NORI &c. [Gadban, 1865] | VICTO[R] IAAVG; in field l., T | |
| 8 | 18·3 | Æ ·5 | ..... VSPFAVG [Gadban, 1865] | ..... IAAVGG; in field l., T; in ex., RM? | iii. 1 |
| 9 | 18·6 | Æ ·45 | ...ONORI [de Salis gift] | ..... .AAVGG | iii. 2 |
| 10 | 16·3 | Æ ·4 | (Inscr. obscure) [Gadban, 1865] | VICTOR | |
| 11 | 18·2 | Æ ·4 | ..... ..AVG [Gadban, 1865] | ..... IAA | |
| | | | Victory to left (*Salus Reipublicae*) (with head of Valentinian III, A.D. 425–455) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head of Valentinian III r., wearing diadem and drapery. | Inscr. Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm. | |
| 12 | 17·7 | Æ ·45 | .....INIANVS... [de Salis gift] | SALVS ....VBLICE; in field l., E; in ex., R | iii. 3 |
| 13 | 14·8 | Æ ·45 | [D]NVALENT....NV SPFAV [Gadban, 1865] | SALVS.....BLICE; in field l., T; in ex., RM | |
| 14 | 25·1 | Æ ·45 | DNVALENTINI.... [Gadban, 1865] | ....S...PVBLIC. | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Victory to left (*obv. Domino nostro*) | | |
| | | | DOMINO NOSTRO Head r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. | CART A GINEPP Victory advancing l., holding in r., wreath, in l., palm-branch; in ex., pellet.[1] | |
| 15 | 18·6 | Æ ·45 | (No drapery) [H. P. Borrell sale, July 1852, lot 846] | (Dress long) | iii. 4 |
| 16 | 16· | Æ ·4 | [de Salis gift] | (Dress short) | iii. 5 |
| | | | Victory to left (with blundered legends) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head r., wearing diadem and drapery. | Inscr. Victory advancing l., holding in r., wreath, in l., palm-branch. | |
| 17 | 18·2 | Æ ·45 | ..Λ CMIΛ.? [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | .....ΛVÇVS; in field l., cross; in ex., .OΛ | iii. 6 |
| 18 | 13·2 | Æ ·4 | .... CNIN. [de Salis gift] | ....ΛVÇV; in field l., cross; in ex., ..Λ | |
| 19 | 11·5 | Æ ·4 | (Inscr. off flan) [de Salis gift] | VICTOR &c.; in field l., Є[2] | |
| 20 | 11· | Æ ·4 | DM &c. [de Salis gift] | In field l., cross.[3] | iii. 7 |

[1] Cp. Sabat., i, p. 221, No. 9. DOMINO NOSTRO. Coins with similar *obv.* occur *infra*, No. 54 (*rev.* Emperor standing) and No. 83 (*rev.* Gate). All are of neat, almost delicate, workmanship and in unusually high relief (in general style they rather resemble No. 42, *infra*, with head of Theodosius II, A.D. 408–450). I am inclined to ascribe them to Gaiseric or to his successor Huneric. The *rev.* of Nos. 15, 16 apparently emphasizes the fact that the coin was struck at Carthage, as do the thick bronze coins already attributed to Gaiseric (p. 3, No. 10, *supra*). *Domino nostro*, without the addition of the king's name, would, moreover, be suitable to Gaiseric or Huneric, because their personal names were not, so far as we know, placed upon their coins, nor were such names inscribed till the reign of Gunthamund, the third king. Gaiseric and Huneric may simply have styled themselves on their bronze coins *Dominus Noster*: later on, under Gunthamund, the *Dominus noster* (abbreviated DN) is supplemented by *rex* and the king's name. (DN is familiar on Roman coins from the time of Constantine the Great, but written at full length as *Dominorum nostrorum* or *Domini N.* it is rare.)

[2] Cp. No. 12, *supra*.

[3] In style not unlike the coins attributed to Masuna, *infra*, p. 39.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Victory to left | | |
| | | | (Inscr. usually represented by strokes: probably barbarous imitations—by the Mauri?) | | |
| | | | Inscr. mainly represented by strokes or lozenges. Head r., wearing diadem and drapery. | Inscr. mainly represented by strokes or lozenges. Victory advancing l., holding in r. wreath, in l. palm-branch. | |
| 21 | 7· | Æ ·35 | [de Salis gift] | Above, l., cross. | iii. 8 |
| 22 | 13·2 | Æ ·45 | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | (No inscr.) | |
| | | | (Types partly off flan) | | |
| 23 | 10·8 | Æ ·45 | (Inscr., IIIII) [de Salis gift] | | iii. 9 |
| 24 | 13·6 | Æ ·4 | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | | |
| 25 | 18· | Æ ·4 | [de Salis gift] | | iii. 10 |
| 26 | 15· | Æ ·4 | [de Salis gift] | (Inscr. not indicated) | |
| 27 | 10·8 | Æ ·35 | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | (Type partly off flan) | |
| 28 | 17·8 | Æ ·4 | [de Salis gift] | (ΛVIIII) | |
| 29 | 13·8 | Æ ·45 | [de Salis gift] | | |
| 30 | 8·8 | Æ ·45 | [de Salis gift] | | |
| 31 | 17·6 | Æ ·4 | [de Salis gift] | | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Victory to left (*obv.* inscr. DNRC &c.) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust r., wearing diadem and drapery. Border of dots. | Victory standing l., holding in r. wreath. Border of dots. | |
| 32 | 9·5 | Æ ·4 | [MX\?] . . IA[1] [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | Pellets representing inscr.; in field r., cross; in front, ? | iii. 11 |
| 33 | 9· | Æ ·35 | DNRC . /\U [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | Type barbarous, partly off flan. | iii. 12 |
| 34 | 12·4 | Æ ·4 | DNRC [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | Type rude. | |
| 35 | 7·4 | Æ ·35 | DNC [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | | |
| 36 | 9·1 | Æ ·4 | DNI [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | Type barbarous, partly off flan. | iii. 13 |
| | | | Victory to left (*obv.* inscr. doubtful) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust r., wearing diadem and drapery. Border of dots. | Victory standing l., holding in r. wreath. (Type rude.) | |
| 37 | 6·6 | Æ ·4 | Ends ASI[2] | [de Salis gift] | iii. 14 |

[1] Mr. Keary (*Coinages of W. Eur.*, p. 31, No. 4) has read this specimen as 'DNG . . . THA (obscure)' and attributed it doubtfully to Gunthamund. The attribution is far from improbable, and the form of the legend on Nos. 33, 34 suggests that it is either the coin of a Vandal king, or a *copy* of some such coin. No. 32 is of comparatively careful work on the *rev.*, though the legend is very doubtful; Nos. 33–6 are more or less barbarous. I therefore hesitate definitely to assign these coins to Gunthamund, though it is not impossible that they reproduce some bronze coins of his that are no longer extant, or that they are copies (as regards the *obv.*) of his silver coins. Compare Nos. 37–41, *infra*.

[2] The beginning of the inscr. (if any) is off the flan, or broken away. Sabatier (i, p. 218, No. 6) read this identical specimen . . . . . AS•P and assigned it to King Trasamund. Here, again, as in the case of Nos. 32–6, the obscurity of the legend and the rudeness of the *rev.* types will prevent us from definitely adopting the attribution to Trasamund or another Vandal king. The coins are related to Nos. 32–6, of which they appear to be copies, further degraded.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 38 | 9·7 | Æ ·4 | ... (letters obscure) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 39 | 6·2 | Æ ·35 | DN | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | iii. 15 |
| 40 | 5·4 | Æ ·35 | (No inscr.) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | iii. 16 |
| 41 | 2·1 | Æ ·3 | (No inscr.) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| | | | Victory facing | | |
| | | | (with head of Theodosius II, A.D. 408–450) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head of Theodosius II r., wearing diadem and drapery. | Inscr. Victory advancing to front, holding wreath in each hand. | |
| 42 | 13·8 | Æ ·4 | DNTHEO &c. [de Salis gift] | [C]ONCO &c. | iii. 17 |
| | | | (with uncertain head) | | |
| | | | Head r., beardless (wearing diadem and drapery?). | Victory standing facing, within wreath. | iii. 18 *rev.* |
| 43 | 6·2 | Æ ·4 | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | | |
| | | | Victory and Captive | | |
| | | | (with head of Valentinian III, A.D. 425–455) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head of Valentinian III r., wearing diadem and drapery. | Inscr. Victory l., dragging captive. | |
| 44 | 18·2 | Æ ·45 | DNVALE? &c. [Gadban, 1865] | SALVS?; in ex., ? | |
| 45 | 16·6 | Æ ·4 | .....TINIANVSPFA (no drapery?) | .....I AAVG [de Salis gift] | iii. 19 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 46 | 15·5 | Æ ·45 | .....TINIAN &c. | (Traces of inscr.) [Gadban, 1865] | |
| 47 | 17·4 | Æ ·45 | .....ANVSPFAVG | VICT... AAGG [Gadban, 1865] | |
| 48 | 22·6 | Æ ·4 | (Valentinian? inscr. IPFIV.?) [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | .....PVBLICE | |
| | | | Roma seated (with uncertain head) | | |
| | | | Head r., beardless, wearing diadem (and drapery?). | Traces of inscr. Female figure (Roma?) seated facing, holding in r. globus surmounted by Victory; in l., sceptre.[1] | |
| 49 | 8· | Æ ·5 | [de Salis gift] | | iii. 20 |
| | | | AIIDIP? Head r., bearded (wearing diadem and drapery?). | Traces of inscr. Roma? seated, as No. 49. (Rude.) | |
| 50 | 9·4 | Æ ·55 | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | | iii. 21 |
| | | | Pax (with uncertain head) | | |
| | | | ....T.. Head r., bearded? | PAX AVG Pax standing l.; in l., cornucopiae; in r., sceptre?; in front, globe? | |
| 51 | 10·2 | Æ ·4 | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | | iii. 22 |

[1] Not unlike the imitations of silver coins of Honorius attributed, *supra*, p. 2, to Gaiseric.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Emperor standing to r. | | |
| | | | (with head of Theodosius I, A.D. 379–395) | | |
| | | | DNTHEODO SIVSP FAG Head of Theodosius I r., wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | . VSR MANOR The Emperor in military dress standing to front, looking r.; in r., labarum; l. hand rests on shield.[1] | |
| 52 | 21· | Æ ·45 | [de Salis gift] | | iii. 23 |
| | | | (with head of Valentinian III, A.D. 425–455) | | |
| | | | [DN]VAL &c. Head of Valentinian III r., wearing diadem and drapery. | Inscr. (obscure). Emperor standing l.; in l., spear; in r., [globe?][1] | |
| 53 | 20·5 | Æ ·5 | [de Salis gift] | | iii. 24 |
| | | | (*Obv.* *Domino nostro*) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | Inscr. Emperor in military dress standing r.; in r., labarum; in l., globus.[2] | |
| 54 | 17·7 | Æ ·4 | DOMINO NOS... [de Salis gift] | VICTORI .A... | iii. 25 |
| | | | (*Obv.* Uncertain head) | | |
| | | | Head r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | Emperor (?) standing, with arms outstretched. (Rude figure.) | |
| 55 | ·8· | Æ ·4 | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | | iii. 26 |

[1] Reign of Gaiseric (?).
[2] Cp. Nos. 15, 16, *supra* (p. 19), and Sabat., i, p. 222, No. 10.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Emperor standing to l. | | |
| | | | (with head of Valentinian III, A.D. 425–455) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head of Valentinian III, wearing diadem and drapery. | Inscr. Emperor in military dress standing l.; in l., spear; in r., globus? | |
| 56 | 24·3 | Æ ·45 | DNVA....INIA... | ICI? [de Salis gift] | iii. 27 |
| | | | (*Obv.* Uncertain head) | | |
| | | | [Barbarous imitations?] | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head r., wearing diadem and drapery. | Inscr. Emperor in military dress standing l.; in l., spear; in r., globus? | |
| 57 | 24· | Æ ·45 | ANIA &c.? [Gadban, 1865] | (Inscr. obscure; globus obscure) | |
| 58 | 18·6 | Æ ·5 | (Inscr. obscure) [Gadban, 1865] | (Without inscr.) | iii. 28 |
| 59 | 11·5 | Æ ·45 | N... &c. [Gadban, 1865] | NN.. | iii. 29 |
| 60 | 8· | Æ ·4 | (IIIII for inscr.) [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | (No inscr.; type partly off flan) | |
| | | | Two Emperors standing | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head r., beardless, wearing diadem. | Inscr. Two Emperors standing to front, each holding spear and supporting globus between them. | |
| 61 | 21·3 | Æ ·5 | .....VSPFA [de Salis gift] | GLO... &c. | iii. 30 |
| 62 | 19·3 | Æ ·4 | .VS[P?] [de Salis gift] | (Inscr. obscure; type partly off flan) | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Emperor and captive[1] | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head r., beardless, wearing diadem. | Inscr. Emperor r., dragging captive. | |
| 63 | 12·8 | Æ ·35 | (Inscr. obscure; type rude) [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | V... Captive held by Emperor's r. hand. | iii. 31 |
| 64 | 14·2 | Æ ·35 | NIA? [Purchased, 1878, 11-3-6] | (No inscr.) Captive held by Emperor's l. hand. | iii. 32 |
| | | | Lion, looking back | | |
| | | | Head r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. | Lion standing l., looking back.[2] | |
| 65 | 11·3 | Æ ·4 | [de Salis gift] | (Type partly off flan) | |
| 66 | 5·8 | Æ ·3 | [de Salis gift] | | iii. 33 |
| | | | Lion standing r. | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head r. | Lion standing r. | |
| 67 | 9·3 | Æ ·4 | (Inscr. obscure: represented by strokes?) | [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | iii. 34 *rev.* |
| | | | Palm-tree[3] | | |
| | | | Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | Palm-tree with fruit. | |
| 68 | 11·3 | Æ ·35 | (Dots for inscr.) | [Presented by Mr. J. Doubleday, 1846] | iii. 35 |
| 69 | 7·4 | Æ ·45 | (Dots for inscr.) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |

[1] Cp. this type on coins of Leo I, A.D. 457–474.

[2] Imitated from the Constantinopolitan bronze coins of Leo I, A.D. 457–474: cp. Friedlaender, *M. d. Vandalen*, p. 50; Pl. II. 3.

[3] Cp. Friedlaender, *M. d. Vandalen*, p. 40.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 70 | 11·2 | Æ ·45 | (Traces of inscr.) | [Townley coll.] | iii. 36 |
| 71 | 7·6 | Æ ·25 | (Traces of inscr.) | [Presented by Mr. J. Doubleday, 1846] | |
| 72 | 6·4 | Æ ·45 | (Dots for inscr.) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| | | | Gate | | |
| | | | (with head of Valentinian III, A. D. 425–455) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Valentinian III r., wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | Gate with opening in centre ; above, star. | |
| 73 | 18·6 | Æ ·5 | DNVAL...INIA &c. | AO . [de Salis gift] | iii. 37 |
| 74 | 15·8 | Æ ·45 | DNVAL &c. | (Traces of inscr.) [Gadban, 1865] | |
| 75 | 14· | Æ ·5 | TINIA &c. | [Purchased, 1878, 11-3-5] | |
| 76 | 17· | Æ ·55 | V? AVG | [de Salis gift] | |
| 77 | 24· | Æ ·5 | DNA | [de Salis gift] | |
| 78 | 19· | Æ ·45 | VA | (Traces of inscr.) [Gadban, 1865] | |
| 79 | 12·5 | Æ ·4 | Ends NA | [Gadban, 1865] | |
| 80 | 21·7 | Æ ·45 | (Traces of inscr.) | On l., CIS [de Salis gift] | iii. 38 |
| | | | (*Obv.* Uncertain head) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. | Gate with opening in centre ; above, star. | |
| 81 | 6· | Æ ·35 | .VI &c. | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | iii. 39 |
| 82 | 4·8 | Æ ·35 | (Inscr. ?) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (*Obv. Domino nostro*) | | |
| | | | [D]OMINO NOSTRO Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass.[1] | Gate with opening in centre. | |
| 83 | 18·5 | Æ ·45 | | [Presented by Sir J. Anderson, 1875] | iii. 40 |
| | | | Temple | | |
| | | | Head r., with diadem. | Temple. | |
| 84 | 5·2 | Æ ·35 | (Barbarous) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | iii. 41 |
| | | | Probably non-Vandalic. | | |
| | | | Inscription | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust r., wearing diadem and drapery. | TOV XVX within wreath. | |
| 85 | 19·8 | Æ ·45 | TINIAN ? | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | iii. 42 *rev.* |
| | | | (With head of Justinian I, A.D. 527–565) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian I r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | Inscr. in wreath.[2] | |
| 86 | 14·5 | Æ ·35 | IVST &c. | VOT XIII [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | iii. 43 |

[1] Cp. Nos. 15, 16, *supra*, p. 19.

[2] On these small pieces with Justinian's name see Friedlaender, *M. d. Vandalen*, p. 48 and p. 51. The reverses are neatly executed, but not so the obverses. It may be that these are really Imperial issues (A.D. 533 or 534) struck after the capture of Carthage by Belisarius (cp. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, pp. 63–9; Pl. IX. 11–17; Pl. X. 5–8). But if not Imperial, they must have been struck by some Vandal ruler who reigned contemporaneously with Justinian (whose reign was A.D. 527–565), thus, either Hilderic or Gelimer. Of these two Hilderic is the more probable issuer on account of his friendly relations with the Byzantine court.

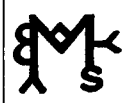
| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 87 | 9·5 | Æ ·35 | IVSTI | VOT<br>XIII<br>[de Salis gift] | |
| 88 | 10·3 | Æ ·4 | IVST | VOT<br>XIII<br>[Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 89 | 10·8 | Æ ·35 | NAN I? | VOT<br>XIII | |
| 90 | 11·3 | Æ ·4 | IVS NIAN | [V]OT<br>[X]III<br>[Procured at Carthage and presented by the Rev. Arthur Dixon, 1906] | |
| 91 | 11·8 | Æ ·35 | IVST . . . ANVS | VOT<br>XIIII | iii. 44 |
| 92 | 12·4 | Æ ·35 | (Traces of inscr.) | VOT<br>XIIII<br>[Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 93 | 12·8 | Æ ·4 | .VST NIAN? | VOT<br>XIIII<br>[Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| | | | Monograms | | |
| | | | (Monogram of Theodosius II, A. D. 408–450) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head of Theodosius II r., wearing diadem and drapery. | (Monogram of Theodosius II) within wreath.[1] | |
| 94 | 5·8 | Æ ·35 | (No inscr. visible) | Above, branch.<br>[Doubleday purchase, 1849[2]] | iv. 1 |

[1] This imitation of the coins of Theodosius II may possibly have been produced as early as the reign of Gaiseric, but as the *obv.* heads are more or less rude and the coins of small size, I would rather assign them to one of the later Vandal rulers nearer to the time of Gelimer, who adopts a monogram as the *rev.* type of his bronze coins (p. 16, No. 4, *supra*). It may be noticed, also, that No. 96 shows the *obv.* head enclosed in a wreath, like the silver coins of Gelimer.

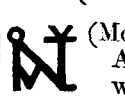
[2] Procured from Africa, according to a note made by de Salis. On the monogram see Friedlaender, *M. d. Vandalen*, p. 48.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 95 | 7·6 | Æ ·3 | ....ΛC | [de Salis gift] | |
| 96 | 4·6 | Æ ·3 | (No inscr.; head in wreath) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849[1]] | iv. 2 |
| 97 | 10·4 | Æ ·35 | (Traces of inscr.) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849[1]] | iv. 3 |
| | | | (Monogram of Marcian,[2] A.D. 450–457) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head of Marcian r., wearing diadem and drapery. | (Monogram of Marcian) within wreath. | |
| 98 | 22·8 | Æ ·45 | NOPFΛV (the beginning of inscr. is off the flan) | Above mon., star. [de Salis gift] | iv. 4 |
| 99 | 23·2 | Æ ·4 | .NM? (rest off flan) | Above mon., star. | |
| 100 | 6·6 (*flan injured*) | Æ ·35 | DNMΛRCIΛNVS | Above mon., cross. [Purchased, 1878, 11-3-1] | iv. 5 |
| 101 | 11·5 | Æ ·4 | [de Salis gift] | Above mon., cross (S blundered) | |
| 102 | 18·5 | Æ ·4 | Traces of inscr. [de Salis gift] | (Monogram varied) | iv. 6 |
| 103 | 14·6 | Æ ·45 | Traces of inscr., AN? &c. | (Mon. as No. 102) [de Salis gift] | |
| 104 | 10·6 | Æ ·45 | RCIS | (Mon. as No. 102) [de Salis gift] | |
| 105 | 20·2 | Æ ·4 | Inscr. ends ΛVC | Above mon., star? [Purchased, 1878, 11-3-3] | |
| | | | Inscr. Head of Marcian r., wearing diadem and drapery. | (Mon. of Marcian) within border. | |
| 106 | 8·5 | Æ ·35 | Inscr. ends NVSI (type I.) | Above mon., cross. [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | iv. 7 |

[1] 'From Africa' (de Salis's note). [2] Issued in the period of Gaiseric, or later (?).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 107 | 9·5 | Æ ·35 | Inscr. obscure. | Above mon., cross. [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | |
| 108 | 10· | Æ ·4 | Inscr. obscure. | Above mon., cross? [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | |
| | | | Inscr. Head of Marcian r., wearing diadem and drapery. |  (Monogram of Marcian) within wreath. | |
| 109 | 12·8 | Æ ·4 | Inscr. ends IANVS? | [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | iv. 8 |
| | | | Monogram of Leo I (A. D. 457–474) | | |
| | | | Head r., wearing diadem and drapery. | (Monogram of Leo I) within wreath. | |
| 110 | 16·1 | Æ ·35 | ....NNA.? | (Border of dots instead of wreath) [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | iv. 9 |
| 111 | 16·6 | Æ ·35 | | [de Salis gift] | |
| 112 | 13·3 | Æ ·35 | | | |
| 113 | 10· | Æ ·35 | Traces of inscr. | [de Salis gift] | iv. 10 |
| 114 | 10·7 | Æ ·35 | [de Salis gift] | (Mon. partly off flan) | |
| 115 | 10·4 | Æ ·4 | Traces of inscr. | [Purchased, 1878, 11-3-2] | |
| 116 | 10·3 | Æ ·3 | | [de Salis gift[1]] | |
| 117 | 10·6 | Æ ·3 | (Type obscure) | (Type partly off flan) [de Salis gift] | |
| 118 | 19·7 | Æ ·45 | PERA. (=PERA?) | (Parkes Weber gift, 1906[2]) | iv. 11 |

[1] A specimen occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard, Friedlaender, *M. d. Vand.*, p. 46.
[2] The coin was originally purchased from an Italian coin-dealer.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Monogram of Zeno (A.D. 474–491) | | |
| | | | Head r., wearing diadem and drapery. | (Monogram of Zeno) within wreath. | |
| 119 | 10·9 | Æ ·35 | Traces of inscr. (..И О?) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849[1]] | iv. 12 |
| 120 | 12·5 | Æ ·35 | | [de Salis gift] | |
| 121 | 11·4 | Æ ·3 | | [de Salis gift] | |
| 122 | 7·8 | Æ ·3 | .NV. | [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | |
| 123 | 13·2 | Æ ·4 | .EN. [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-11] | | iv. 13 |
| 124 | 14·7 | Æ ·35 | | (Mon. as No. 123) [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 125 | 16· | Æ ·35 | Traces of inscr. | (Mon. as No. 123) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-18] | |
| 126 | 12·2 | Æ ·35 | DN... | (Mon. as No. 123) [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | |
| 127 | 14·5 | Æ ·35 | | [Doubleday purchase, 1849[2]] | |
| | | | Monogram of Anastasius I (A.D. 491–518) | | |
| | | | Head r., wearing diadem and drapery. |  (Monogram of Anastasius) within border of dots. | |
| 128 | 11·6 | Æ ·4 | | [de Salis gift] | iv. 14 |
| 129 | 13· | Æ ·4 | Border of dots. | [de Salis gift] | |

[1] This specimen came 'from Africa' according to de Salis's note.
[2] 'From Africa' (de Salis's note).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 130 | 9. | Æ ·35 | Traces of inscr. | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 131 | 8·2 | Æ ·35 | Traces of inscr. (—V). Border of dots. | [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-309] | iv. 15 |
| 132 | 7·4 | Æ ·35 | (Type obscure) | [de Salis gift] | |
| 133 | 7. | Æ ·3 | (IN . &c.) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 134 | 7·1 | Æ ·3 | | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 135 | 11·2 | Æ ·4 | Border of dots. | [de Salis gift] | |
| 136 | 7·7 | Æ ·35 | | ,, [de Salis gift] | iv. 16 |
| 137 | 8·2 | Æ ·3 | | ,, [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 138 | 7. | Æ ·35 | Border of dots. | ,, [de Salis gift] | iv. 17 |
| | | | Monogram of Justinian I (A.D. 527–565) | | |
| | | | Head of Justinian I r., wearing diadem and drapery. | (Monogram of Justinian) within wreath. | |
| 139 | 18. | Æ ·35 | Ends . IVSTI ? | [de Salis gift] | iv. 18 |
| 140 | 10·5 | Æ ·35 | Ends IANV. | [1] | iv. 19 |

[1] Specimens of Nos. 139 and 140 occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard (see Friedl., *M. d. Vand.*, pp. 42, 43, 52). If these coins are of African, and not (as is conceivable) of Italian origin, they were probably issued during the reign of Hilderic, which ended in May, 530.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Ⱥ (with head of Justinian I) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian I r., wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | Ⱥ within border of dots.[1] | |
| 141 | 7·5 | Æ ·4 | DNIP.... 2I ? | [de Salis gift] | iv. 20 |
| 142 | 14·4 | Æ ·4 | IVSTI N..V | [de Salis gift] | |
| 143 | 21·8 | Æ ·4 | .. N? ΛV | [de Salis gift] | |
| 144 | 10·3 | Æ ·35 | .. | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | iv. 21 |
| 145 | 11·2 | Æ ·35 | .. | [Procured at Carthage, and presented by the Rev. Arthur Dixon, 1906] | |
| 146 | 6·8 | Æ ·35 | (Without inscr.) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 147 | 8·4 | Æ ·35 | .. | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 148 | 7· | Æ ·3 | (Inscr. obscure) | [Presented by Mr. George Finlay, 1854[2]] | |

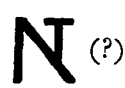
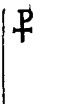
[1] Cp. Friedlaender, *M. d. Vandalen*, p. 43 and p. 52 (specimens in the Monte Roduni hoard).

[2] Found at Athens (see Finlay's *Hist. of Greece*, i, p. 446 n.; cp. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i, p. 43 *n.*). These small coins (Nos. 141–8) are in much the same case as those with the head of Justinian I described *supra*, p. 28, No. 86 sq. (*rev.* VOT XIII &c.). It is possible that they are Imperial issues, struck, A.D. 533 or 534, after the capture of Carthage by Belisarius, but as their obverses (head and inscription) are somewhat rude it is more likely that they are coins of Hilderic (cp. p. 14, *supra*). Ⱥ probably = 1 *νουμμίον*; cp. Justinian's coins struck at Thessalonica (B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 43).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (with head of Justinian I?[1]) | | |
| | | | Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem [and drapery]. | Inscr. | |
| 149 | 12·6 | Æ ·35 | [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | (Inscr. obscure, DNIV STIN . . .?) | iv. 22 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. | within wreath. | |
| 150 | 8·4 | Æ ·35 | | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | iv. 23 |
| 151 | 8·4 | Æ ·35 | | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head r., wearing diadem and drapery. | | |
| 152 | 15· | Æ ·35 | . . . . . SIVS . . . ? | [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | Head r., wearing diadem and drapery. | within border of dots. | |
| 153 | 5·2 | Æ ·3 | (Rude style) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849[2]] | iv. 24 |

[1] Cp. the coins with Ⱥ, Nos. 141–8, *supra*.

[2] 'From Africa' (de Salis's note).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Inscr. represented by dots. Head r., wearing diadem and drapery. | within border of dots. | |
| 154 | 12·4 | Æ ·35 | (Head partly off flan) | [de Salis gift] | iv. 25 |
| 155 | 11·8 | Æ ·35 | | [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | |
| | | |  Inscr. Bust r., wearing diadem and drapery. | (?) within border of dots. | |
| 156 | 12·3 | Æ ·4 | Ends  | [de Salis gift] | iv. 26 |
| | | | Head r. [wearing diadem and drapery]. | within wreath. | |
| 157 | 16·6 | Æ ·4 | | [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | |
| | | | Inscr. Head r., wearing diadem and drapery. |  | |
| 158 | 11· | Æ ·3 | Ends  [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | Letters in angles (?). | iv. 27 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | ⁂ (with head of Justinian I) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head of Justinian I r., wearing diadem and drapery. | ⁂ within two borders of dots.[1] | |
| 159 | 11·1 | Æ ·35 | DNIVTI (*sic*) NIA | | iv. 28 |
| 160 | 9·2 | Æ ·35 | Blundered inscr., VW /IVI ? | [Doubleday purchase, 1849[2]] | |
| | | | ⁂ in wreath | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head r., wearing diadem and drapery. | ⁂ with pellets in the angles; whole in wreath.[3] | |
| 161 | 7·6 | Æ ·35 | Ends VIU | [Presented by Mr. J. Doubleday, 1846] | iv. 29 |
| 162 | 6·4 | Æ ·35 | (No inscr. on flan) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849[2]] | |
| 163 | 6·7 | Æ ·35 | (No inscr. on flan) | (Without pellets) [Doubleday purchase, 1849[2]] | |
| | | | *Obv.* A. *Rev.* ⁂ | | |
| | | | A within border of dots.[4] | ⁂ within border of dots. | |
| 164 | 23·6 | Æ ·4 | | [de Salis gift] | iv. 30 |

[1] Hardly Imperial, but more probably of the time of Hilderic: cp. note 2, p. 34, *supra*. A specimen occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard (Friedlaender., *M. d. Vand.*, p. 43 and p. 52).

[2] 'From Africa' (de Salis's note).

[3] Later Vandal; Hilderic or Gelimer (?).

[4] Cp. the coins with *rev.* A described *supra*, p. 34. This coin, however, is of thicker fabric.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Obv.* Head. *Rev.* ✱ | | |
| | | | Head r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. | ✱ within wreath.[1] | |
| 165 | 9·8 | Æ ·35 | Behind, ••••(=inscr.) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | iv. 31 |
| 166 | 11·7 | Æ ·3 | Behind, ••••(=inscr.) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 167 | 11·1 | Æ ·4 | In front, ••••(=inscr.) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 168 | 5·4 (*thin*) | Æ ·4 | | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 169 | 11· | Æ ·35 | | [de Salis gift] | |
| 170 | 13·7 | Æ ·35 | (Dots for inscr. ?) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 171 | 6·4 | Æ ·35 | | [de Salis gift] | |
| 172 | 5·2 | Æ ·3 | | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| | | | **Cross** | | |
| | | | Cross potent in wreath | | |
| | | | (with head of Theodosius II, A.D. 408–450) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head of Theodosius II r., wearing diadem and drapery. | Cross potent in wreath. Border of dots. | |
| 173 | 14· | Æ ·45 | .....SIVSPFA | [Purchased in 1878, 11-3-7] | |
| 174 | 9·6 | Æ ·45 | [T]HЄ∅DSIVSPF | [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | iv. 32 |

[1] For the style, &c., compare Nos. 161–3. They appear to be coins of the late Vandal period, but the substitution of dots for the letters of the inscription and the rudeness of the *obv.* heads suggest that the coins are not the issues of Vandal kings, but of some barbarous tribes (the Mauri ?).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 175 | 9·2 | Æ ·35 | (Traces of inscr., blundered | [de Salis gift] | iv. 33 |
| 176 | 19·4 | Æ ·4 | .....SIVSPFA | [de Salis gift[1]] | |
| 177 | 17· | Æ ·4 | .....VSPFA | [de Salis gift] | |
| 178 | 13·5 | Æ ·4 | DNTH. (the rest off flan) | [de Salis gift] | |
| | | | (With head of Masuna?, Rex Maurorum, *circ.* A.D. 508, and later) | | |
| | | | Inscr. (Name of Masuna?). Head r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. | Cross potent in wreath (represented by pellets). | |
| 179 | 11·2 | Æ ·45 | ⊓NAƧMA (border of dots. | (Type defaced) [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888[2]] | iv. 34 |
| 180 | 10·3 | Æ ·35 | .⊓NAƧ⊓. | [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | iv. 35 |
| 181 | 11·1 | Æ ·35 | AƧNA (rest of inscr. off flan). | [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888] | |

[1] Nos. 176–8 are of thicker fabric than Nos. 173–5.

[2] The *obv.* inscription of Nos. 179–81 does not appear to adumbrate the name of any Roman emperor or Vandal king. I suggest that it is intended for the name of Masuna, an important chieftain of the Mauri who gained territory at the expense of Trasamund and the Vandals. According to an inscription in *C. I. L.*, viii, No. 9835, Masuna was in A.D. 508 ruler of Safar, Altava, and Castra Severiana in the west of Mauretania Caesariensis, and styled himself 'Rex Maurorum et Romanorum'. (*Pro sal. et incol. reg. Masunae* [first two letters in ligature] *gent. Maur. et Romanor.*, &c.)

He is probably identical with the Μασσωνᾶς of Procopius. 'Masuna rex anno 508 fortasse est ipse ille Massona rex qui a. 534 una cum Ortaia Byzantiorum ducem Solomonem incitabat ad bellum inferendum regi Maurorum ad montem Aurasium Iabdae (Procop., *Bell. Vand.*, ii. 13),' Commentary on *C. I. L.*, No. 9835; cp. Schmidt's *Gesch. d. Vandalen*, p. 120; Diehl, *L'Afr. byz.*, p. 43 and p. 264. If the attribution of these coins happens to receive further confirmation it will be of some importance in connexion with the whole series of small bronze coins of the Vandalic period (here described, pp. 17 ff.). For it would become evident that the Mauri (and perhaps other barbarous peoples) employed during the later Vandal period, and perhaps even after the conquest of Africa by Justinian, a currency of small bronze which they modelled more or less rudely on Roman or Vandal prototypes. The existence of the very numerous types and varieties of small bronze coins which seem to furnish a superabundant coinage for the Vandal kings will excite less astonishment if we consider that they were in part the currency of the Mauri.

No. 20, p. 19; No. 110, p. 31; No. 188, p. 40, bear a certain resemblance to Nos. 179–81 just described.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (*Obv.* uncertain head[1]) | | |
| | | | Head r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. | Cross potent in wreath. | |
| 182 | 27· | Æ ·45 | DNVI (Valentinian III?) | Border of dots. [de Salis gift] | iv. 36 |
| 183 | 16· | Æ ·45 | Inscr. ends NA. | [P. Gadban, 1865] | iv. 37 |
| 184 | 21·2 | Æ ·45 | (Type blurred through double-striking) | Border of dots. [P. Gadban, 1865] | |
| 185 | 14·4 | Æ ·45 | Inscr. ends A? VG | Border of dots. [de Salis gift] | |
| 186 | 33·4 | Æ ·55 | (Bust broad, rudely executed) | [E. Aschkenasi, of Tunis, 1854] | iv. 38 |
| 187 | 18·1 | Æ ·4 | (Similar to No. 186) | [Townley coll.] | |
| 188 | 11· | Æ ·35 | [.OCAΠVI.?] (head small) | [de Salis gift[2]] | iv. 39 |
| 189 | 10·5 | Æ ·45 | Traces of rude inscr. | (Double-struck) [de Salis gift] | |
| 190 | 8·5 | Æ ·35 | Inscr. (IV? &c.) | [de Salis gift] | |
| 191 | 8·7 | Æ ·45 | Dots for inscr.; type rude. | [de Salis gift] | iv. 40 |

[1] Nos. 182–94 may be coins of the Mauri or, at any rate, non-Vandalic.
[2] This somewhat resembles the coins assigned, *supra*, p. 39, to Masuna.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 192 | 11·6 | Æ ·35 | | Border of dots. [de Salis gift] | |
| 193 | 4· | Æ ·35 | | Border of dots. [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 194 | 4·3 | Æ ·3 | | [de Salis gift] | iv. 41 |
| | | | Plain cross in wreath | | |
| | | | Head r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. | Plain cross in wreath. | |
| 195 | 12· | Æ ·4 | In front, palm-branch or part of wreath ? | | iv. 42 |
| 196 | 13· | Æ ·35 | In front, part of wreath. | [de Salis gift] | |
| 197 | 7· | Æ ·4 | | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | iv. 43 |
| 198 | 8·2 | Æ ·35 | | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | |
| 199 | 12·1 | Æ ·35 | | Border of dots. [Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | |
| 200 | 7·6 | Æ ·3 | DN | [de Salis gift] | |
| | | | Cross pattée in border of dots | | |
| | | | Head r., beardless, wearing [diadem and] drapery. | Cross pattée and two pellets. Border of dots.[1] | |
| 201 | 12·8 | Æ ·35 | | | iv. 44 |

[1] Period of the later Vandal kings.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Pentagram | |
| | | | Two (or three?) rows of CCCC (imitating inscriptions?). | Pentagram. | |
| 202 | 4· | Æ ·35 | | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | iv. 45 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | Plain (or with a type that has been obliterated). | Pentagram. | |
| 203 | 7·3 | Æ ·4 | | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | iv. 46 |
| 204 | 6·6 | Æ ·3 | | [de Salis gift] | |

# II.

# COINS OF THE OSTROGOTHS

## ODOVACAR[1]

A. D. 23 Aug. 476—15 March 493

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | RAVENNA | | |
| | | | Solidus | | |
| | | | DNZENO PERPFAVC Bust of Zeno,[2] beardless, with head three-quarters r.; wears helmet with plume and armour; r. hand holds spear behind his head; l. hand (not represented) supports shield decorated with the group of a horseman r., attacking with spear a prostrate enemy. | VICTOR AAVCCC Victory draped standing l., holding in r. broad cross; in ex., CONOB; in field, r., star. | |
| 1 | 68·2 | *N* ·8 | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-2] | (VICTOR I) (A for A) after inscr., Δ | v. 1 |
| 2 | 68·5 | *N* ·8 | [Purchased, 1874, 7-15-144*] | After CONOB, RV (Ravenna) | v. 2 |

[1] As to Odovacar, who is here, for convenience, included among the Ostrogoths, see 'Introduction', *supra*, § 2.

[2] The Emperor Zeno, A. D. 474–491. On the attribution to Odovacar of coins with Zeno's name see 'Introduction', § 2, on coins with Imperial names.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 66·9 | *AV* ·75 | (Ends AYC) | (ΛAYCCC) after CO NOB, RV | |
| 4 | 68·3 | *AV* ·8 | (Ends AYC) [de Salis gift] | (VICTOR I) after inscr., Z | |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | DNZENO PERPFΛV Bust of Zeno r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. | Cross within wreath; beneath, CONOB | |
| 5 | 22·2 | *AV* ·55 | | (И for N?) [de Salis gift] | v. 3 |
| 6 | 21·7 | *AV* ·5 | (PERP) | [de Salis gift] | v. 4 |
| 7 | 22·4 | *AV* ·5 | (Ends PERPFAVC) | (COII) | v. 5 |
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | DNΣENO PERPFΛV Bust of Zeno r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. | Eagle, with wings spread, standing l., looking back; above head, cross.[1] | |
| 8 | 14·5 (*pierced*) | *AR* ·55 | | [de Salis gift] | v. 6 |
| | | | FLOD[OV]ΛC Bust of Odovacar r., beardless, but with moustache; head bare; wears paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots. | AO (monogram of Odovacar) within wreath, with circular ornament; beneath, RV. Border of dots. | |
| 9 | 12·7 | *AR* ·5 | [Purchased, 1882, 4-5-1 [2]] | | v. 7 |

[1] The types were probably suggested by the Imperial silver coins already struck in Italy—probably at Milan—in the name of Zeno.

[2] This rare coin was sold to the British Museum by Miss A. Lucas, an English lady resident in Rome, where, I believe, it was obtained. Cp. Keary, *Coinages of Western Europe*, p. vii (corrigenda), referring to the specimen engraved on the title-page of Pallmann's *Gesch. der Völkerwanderungen*. For other specimens see Friedlaender, *M. d. Vandalen*, pp. 58, 59, Pl. II. 1, 2; cp. *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 8. The silver coin (with head of Anastasius) assigned to Odovacar in Sabat., i, p. 195, Pl. XVIII. 1, is of doubtful description; see Friedlaender, *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 8; cp. Engel and Serrure (*Traité de Num.*, i. 23). As to the date, &c., of our No. 9, see 'Introduction', *supra*, § 2, 'Odovacar.' The A in the monogram is carelessly formed, perhaps A.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | ODO VΛC Bust of Odovacar r., beardless, [but with moustache?]; head bare; wears paludamentum and cuirass. | within wreath. | |
| 10 | 21·6 | Æ ·4 | | [de Salis gift] | v. 8 |
| 11 | 14·4 | Æ ·4 | | | v. 9 |
| | | | ROME | | |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | DNZENOP ERPFAVC Bust of Zeno r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | Cross within wreath; beneath, COMOB | |
| 12 | 22·4 | Æ ·5 | [de Salis gift] | | v. 10 |
| 13 | 22·2 | Æ ·55 | (DNZENO PERPFA VC) | [Blacas coll., 1867] | v. 11 |
| 14 | 22·3 | Æ ·55 | (DNΣENO PERPFΛ VC) | [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-14] | v. 12 |
| 15 | 22· | Æ ·5 | (DNZЄNO PЄRPFA VC) | [Purchased of an Italian dealer, 1869, 7-9-61] | v. 13 |
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | See *infra*, 'Quasi-autonomous of Rome,' time of Odovacar. | | |

# THEODORIC

son of Theudemir

A.D. MARCH 493—30 AUG. 526

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | RAVENNA | | |
| | | | Gold | | |
| | | | (i) with head of Anastasius I. Struck by Theodoric, *circ.* A.D. 493–518 | | |
| | | | Solidus | | |
| | | | A.D. 493–518 | | |
| | | | DNANASTA SIVSPF AVC Bust of Anastasius, beardless, three-quarters r., wears helmet with plume and ornament, and armour; r. hand holds spear behind his head; l. hand (not represented) supports shield with horseman device. | VICTOR I AAVCCC Victory draped standing l., holding in r. broad cross; in ex., COMOB; in field r., star. | |
| 1 | 68·7 | *AV* ·8 | [Presented by Mr. Edward Wigan, 1864] | At end of inscr., A | v. 14 |
| 2 | 68·8 | *AV* ·8 | [Blacas coll., 1867] | At end of inscr., A | |
| 3 | 68·5 | *AV* ·8 | (A for A) [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-17] | (VICTORI AAVCCC) (CONOB); in field l., R/ (Ravenna); at end of inscr., ⊕R (monogram of Theodoric). | v. 15 |
| 4 | 69· | *AV* ·75 | (A for A) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-1] | (Inscr. as on No. 3); in field, l., traces of R/? which has been apparently obliterated; at end of inscr., monogram of Theodoric as on No. 3. | v. 16 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC Bust of Anastasius, beardless, r., wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | VICTORIAAVÇVSTO RVM Victory standing on globus[1] to front, looking l.; in r. wreath, in l. globus cruciger; in field l., star; in ex., CONOB | |
| 5 | 22·4 | *Æ* ·55 | (Λ for A) above head, cross. [de Salis gift] | (ÇOS for ÇVS) (star in field r., instead of l.) | v. 17 |
| 6 | 22· | *Æ* ·5 | (TΛ) (ΛVC) above head, star. [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-73] | IVCTORIAAVCVSTO RON | v. 18 |
| 7 | 22·2 | *Æ* ·5 | (A, A, Λ, Λ in inscr.) above head, star. [de Salis gift] | (VICTORIΛAVCVSO RON) | |
| 8 | 22· | *Æ* ·55 | (A, A, A, Λ in inscr.) above head, star. [de Salis gift] | (VICTORIAAVCVSO ROM) (COИOB) | v. 19 |
| 9 | 22·2 | *Æ* ·5 | (Λ for A in inscr.) above head, star. [de Salis gift] | (VICTORIAA VIVST OROM) | |
| 10 | 22·4 | *Æ* ·55 | (Ↄ for D) (SIVS) [de Salis gift] | (VICTORIAA VCVST ORN) (star in field r., instead of l.). | v. 20 |
| 11 | 22·2 | *Æ* ·55 | (Λ for A, except second A) | (C for Ç) (COMOB) (star in field r., instead of l.). | v. 21 |

[1] The globus is often very slightly indicated, and is sometimes not to be distinguished from the left foot of the goddess. It is more distinct on the tremisses struck at Rome under Theodoric. The type can be traced back on Roman coins to the *aurei* of Augustus (e.g. *Coli. de H. Montagu, Monn. d'or*, Pl. III. 77).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Gold** | | |
| | | | (ii) with head of Justin I. Struck by Theodoric, *circ.* A. D. 518–526, and by Athalaric?, end of 526 and beginning of 527. | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTI NVSPFΛVC Bust of Justin I, beardless, three-quarters r.; wears helmet with plume and armour; r. hand holds spear behind his head; l. hand (not represented) supports shield with horseman device. | VICTOR I AAVCCCA Victory draped standing l., holding in r. broad cross; in field l., star; in ex., COMOB | |
| 12 | 68·2 | *AV* ·8 | [Purchased, 1870, 2-1-2] | (Λ for A) | vi. 1 |
| 13 | 68·7 | *AV* ·8 | | | |
| 14 | 68·6 | *AV* ·8 | (Ends ΛVC) [Bank of England gift, 1877] | (Λ for A) | |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTI NVSPFΛVC Bust of Justin I, beardless, r., wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | VICTORIΛΛVCVST ORVM Victory standing on globus to front,[1] looking l.; in r., wreath; in l., globus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., COMOB | |
| 15 | 22·6 | *AV* ·6 | [de Salis gift] | (Space before CVS) (N for M) (cross separated from globus). | vi. 2 |
| 16 | 22·6 | *AV* ·6 | | (Ends ORII) | |

[1] On the type see note 1, p. 47, *supra*.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17 | 21·7 | Æ ·55 | [de Salis gift] | (Ends VM) | |
| 18 | 22·5 | Æ ·6 | (Ends AVC) [de Salis gift] | (VICTORIAACVSTO RVM) (star l. instead of r.).[1] | vi. 3 |
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | (i) with head of Anastasius I. Struck by Theodoric, *circ.* A.D. 493–518 | | |
| | | | **Half Siliqua** | | |
| | | | DNANASTA SIVSPF AVC Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. | ✱ within wreath; beneath, CONS Border of dots. | |
| 19 | 18·6 | Æ ·5 | | [Cracherode bequest, 1799[2]] | vi. 4 |
| | | | DNANAST ASIVSA VC Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; beneath bust, two pellets. Border of dots. | ✱ within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament. | |
| 20 | 22· | Æ ·5 | [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867] | | vi. 5 |
| 21 | 22·6 | Æ ·55 | | | vi. 6 |
| 22 | 23·7 | Æ ·5 | (Pellets off flan) [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; procured in Rome] | (Without ornament?) | vi. 7 |

[1] Head on *obv.* smaller than on Nos. 15–17, and more like that on the tremisses assigned (*infra*) to Rome in the time of Theodoric.

[2] In spite of CONS this coin does not belong to Constantinople either by type or style. A wreath similar to that on the *rev.* (but encircling a cross) is found on the gold tremisses struck in Italy by the latest Emperors of the West. The exact *rev.* type occurs on silver coins of Rome, of Libius Severus, and of Anthemius, and on silver of Anthemius assigned to Milan. This coin might possibly be of Milan, but hardly of Rome, for the letters SC are not present. On the whole, Ravenna seems the most likely place of issue, the head, and the wreath on *rev.* having affinities with Nos. 23–6, *infra*.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Quarter Siliqua** | | |
| | | | DNANAST ASIVSAV Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery.[1] Border of dots. | (monogram of Theodoric); above, cross. Whole in wreath. | |
| 23 | 10·5 | Æ ·45 | Beneath, two pellets. | | vi. 8 |
| 24 | 10·6 | Æ ·4 | (DNANASTA [SI]VS AVC) | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; purchased of an Italian coin-dealer] | |
| 25 | 10· | Æ ·4 | (DNANASTA SIVSA VC; beginning of inscr. obscure) | | |
| 26 | 11·4 | Æ ·45 | (DNANA STASIVS [A]) (*obv.* worn) [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | (beneath mon., star.) | vi. 9 *rev.* |
| | | | (ii) with head of Justin I. Struck by Theodoric, A.D. 518–526 | | |
| | | | **Quarter Siliqua** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTI NVSAVC Bust of Justin I r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. Border of dots. | (monogram of Theodoric); above, cross. Whole in wreath. | |
| 27 | 10·2 | Æ ·45 | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought of an Italian coin-dealer] | (o placed outside monogram, beneath.[2]) | vi. 10 |

[1] No doubt here, and in later reigns, the bust is intended to wear a paludamentum and cuirass, but they are often so carelessly rendered that the details are not distinct.

[2] Nos. 27, 28, 29 are probably earlier than Nos. 30–4 because the monogram on them appears to have been suggested by the monogram on No. 26, *supra*.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 28 | 10·8 | Æ ·4 | (Ends NVSPΛVC) | [de Salis gift] | vi. 11 |
| 29 | 10·7 | Æ ·45 | (End of inscr. obscure) | [de Salis gift] | |
| 30 | 10·4 | Æ ·4 | In front, countermark, ? crescent. | [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-4] | vi. 12 |
| 31 | 11·1 | Æ ·45 | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-55] | (,,) | vi. 13 |
| 32 | 11· | Æ ·45 | | (,,) | |
| 33 | 10·8 | Æ ·45 | (Ends NVSPΛVC) | (,,) [de Salis gift] | |
| 34 | 10· | Æ ·45 | (Ends NVS[P?]ΛVC) | (,,) [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought in Rome] | |
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | (i) with head of Anastasius I. Struck by Theodoric, *circ.* A.D. 493–518 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Head of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. Border of dots. | Star within wreath.[1] | |
| 35 | 10·1 | Æ ·35 | DNΛ (ΛVC?) | [Purchased, 1864, 7-19-27] | vi. 14 |
| 36 | 17·6 | Æ ·35 | DNΛ VC | [Purchased, 1864, 7-19-26] | vi. 15 |

[1] These coins are quite of Italian style. They recall, by their reverse type, the silver coins with the head of Anastasius I described *supra*, p. 49, No. 20, &c., and assigned to Theodoric, Ravenna.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (ii) with head of Justin I. Struck by Theodoric, *circ.* A.D. 518–526 | | |
| | | | Є (5 nummi) | | |
| | | | DNIVSTI NVSPPΛ VC Bust of Justin I r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. Border. | Є and cross; all within wreath. | |
| 37 | 34·1 | Æ ·6 | | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-72] | vi. 16 |
| 38 | 30·1 | Æ ·55 | | | vi. 17 |
| 39 | 25·3 | Æ ·5 | | | |
| 40 | 30·3 | Æ ·55 | | | |
| | | | V (5 nummi) | | |
| | | | (Some of these may, possibly, have been issued in the early part of the reign of Athalaric) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justin I r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. Border. | V within wreath.[1] | |
| 41 | 25·7 | Æ ·5 | DNIVSTI NVSPPΛ VC | [de Salis gift] | |
| 42 | 30·2 | Æ ·55 | [Off flan] NVSPPΛVC | | vi. 18 |
| 43 | 23·9 | Æ ·55 | DNIVSIII IPPΛVC | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-70] | vi. 19 |
| 44 | 32·3 | Æ ·55 | DNIVSTINI (*sic*) NV SPPΛVC | [de Salis gift] | vi. 20 |
| 45 | 28·4 | Æ ·5 | DNIVSTIII NVSPP ΛVC | [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-109] | |

[1] On nearly all these specimens the head is in the high relief characteristic of the Ravenna mint.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 46 | 24· | Æ ·45 | DNIVSTI (double-struck) NVSPPΛVC | [Blacas coll., 1867] | |
| 47 | 27·8 | Æ ·55 | DNIVSTIII •NVSPP ΛVC | | |
| 48 | 29·7 | Æ ·5 | DИIVSTIN NVSPΛ VC | [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-298] | |
| 49 | 26·5 | Æ ·5 | [D]NIVSTII (NVSPP ...?) | | vi. 21 |
| 50 | 22·5 | Æ ·5 | ..... .VSPPΛVC | [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-91] | |
| 51 | 13· | Æ ·35 | .NIV (head of somewhat rude style) | [Northwick sale, 1860] | vi. 22 |
| 52 | 21·1 | Æ ·45 | .. TINIPI | Above, star. | vi. 23 |
| 53 | 23·5 | Æ ·45 | DИIV STINIP | Above, star. | vi. 24 |
| 54 | 19·7 | Æ ·45 | DNIVS TINIPI | Above, star. | |
| 55 | 18·2 | Æ ·45 | ..IV TINII | Above, star. [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-151] | |
| 56 | 22·6 | Æ ·45 | DNIV ..NIP | Above, star. | |
| 57 | 21·8 | Æ ·45 | DNIV TINIP | Above, star. [Rev. Greville J. Chester, 1877] | |
| 58 | 21·5 | Æ ·45 | DNIVS TI[NIP?] | Above, star. [Rev. Greville J. Chester, 1877] | |
| 59 | 27·5 | Æ ·45 | ..IVSTI NVS.... | Above, star. | |
| 60 | 21·6 | Æ ·45 | DN[IVS] TINIPAV | Above, star. [Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | |

See also 'quasi-autonomous of Ravenna', *infra*, for bronze coins attributed to the period of Theodoric.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | ROME<br>Gold. Triple Solidus | | |
| | | | REXTHEODERICV SP IVSPRINCIS Bust of Theodoric facing; head bare; hair curled; wears paludamentum and cuirass; r. hand raised; l. holds globus, on which stands Victory l., holding wreath and palm; at end of inscr., small palm-branch. | REXTHEODERICVSV ICTORCENTIVM Victory in girdled chiton standing r. on globus; in r., wreath; in l., palm-branch; at end of inscr., palm-branch; in ex., COM OB. Border of dots. | |
| | 236. (*with setting*) | *A* 1·4 | Collection of Com. F. Gnecchi, Milan. Found near Sinigallia in Italy in Dec. 1894. The specimen is here reproduced on an enlarged scale from a cast of the original kindly sent by its owner. See Gnecchi in *Rivista ital. di Num.*, 1895, p. 149, Pl. III; A. von Sallet, *Münzen und Medaillen* (Handbücher der Königl. Museen zu Berlin), Berlin, 1898, p. 101; ed. Regling, 1909, p. 125.<br>This coin or medallion was set in antiquity as a brooch, and the remains of the setting (omitted in our frontispiece) are seen on the *rev.* of the original. Its weight (including the brooch-setting) is 15,320 grammes, or a little more than 236 English grains. If (on a rough estimate) we deduct 26 grains for the weight of the setting, the weight of the coin will be 210 grains, i.e. it is (as Gnecchi, op. cit., has already pointed out) a piece of three solidi, based on a solidus of 70 grains. The heaviest extant solidi (in Brit. Mus.) weigh 68–69 grains. It may be noted, however, that a bronze weight (in the Brit. Mus.) of Theodoric, marked 3 solidi, weighs only 184 grains (Dalton, *Cat. Early Christian Antiq.*, No. 444; cp. Nos. 445, 446).<br>The place of mintage, as suggested by COMOB, was an Italian city; presumably, either Rome or Ravenna. As there is nothing in the piece specially characteristic of Ravenna, it may be assigned to Rome, for which city the Victory on the reverse is suitable, as may be seen by comparison with the Victory on the silver (No. 73, *infra*; Pl. VII. 5) and bronze coins (quasi-autonomous of Rome) attributed to Rome during the reign of Theodoric.<br>PRINCIS on the *obv.* is explained by Stückelberg (*Rivista ital. di num.*, 1898, pp. 63 f.) as PRINC. I. S, i.e. *Princeps invictissimus* (or *inclytus*) *semper*; cp. T. Allara, ib., p. 67. | | Frontispiece |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Gold (Solidus; Tremissis)** | | |
| | | | With head of Anastasius I. Struck in the time of Theodoric, *circ.* A.D. 493–518 (or 526?) | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | DNANASTA SIVSPF AVC Bust of Anastasius, beardless, three-quarters r.; wears helmet with plume and ornament, and armour; r. hand holds spear behind his head; l. hand (not represented) supports shield with horseman device. | VICTOR I AAVCCC Victory, wearing drapery, standing l., holding in r. broad cross; in field r., star; in ex., COMOB | |
| 61 | 68·7 | *AV* ·8 | [Cracherode bequest, 1799] | At end of inscr., A | vi. 25 |
| 62 | 68·5 | *AV* ·85 | [J. E. Sinyanki, 1852] | (Λ for A) At end of inscr., ☧ | vi. 26 |
| 63 | 65·3 | *AV* ·75 | [Edward Solly, 1846] | At end of inscr., Θ; in field l., RM (monogram of Rome). | vi. 27 |
| 64 | 67· | *AV* ·75 | [Blacas coll., 1867] | (Λ for A) At end of inscr., ⊕R (monogram of Theodoric); in field l., RM (monogram of Rome). | vi. 28 |
| 65 | 68·9 | *AV* ·75 | [de Salis gift] | At end of inscr., monogram of Theodoric, as on No. 64; in field l., RM | vi. 29 |
| 66 | 68·3 | *AV* ·75 | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-10] | At end of inscr., monogram of Theodoric, as on No. 64; in field l., RM | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | (Victory to front) | | |
| | | | DNANASTA SIVSPF AVC Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | VICTORIAAVCVST ORVM Victory standing on globus to front, looking l.; in r., wreath; in l., globus cruciger; in field, r. and l., star; in ex., COMOB | |
| 67 | 22·4 | *Æ* ·55 | [Blacas coll., 1867] | (AV for AV) | vii. 1 |
| 68 | 22· | *Æ* ·5 | [Mrs. Farren, 1845] | (Globus cruciger detached from hand) | vii. 2 |
| 69 | 22·4 | *Æ* ·55 | (A for A) [de Salis gift] | (ACVSTORVM) (CO MOB) | |
| 70 | 23· | *Æ* ·55 | (A for A) [de Salis gift] | (ACVSTORVM) Cross separated from globus. | |
| | | | (Victory in profile) | | |
| | | | DNANASTA SIVSP FAVC Bust of Anastasius r., as No. 67. | VICTORIAAVCVST ORVM Victory advancing r., holding in r. wreath; in l., palm-branch; in ex., COMOB.[1] | |
| 71 | 22·8 | *Æ* ·5 | [Blacas coll., 1867] | | vii. 3 |
| 72 | 21·6 | *Æ* ·55 | (Surface rough) [de Salis gift] | (VM in ligature) (type to l.) (CONOB[2]) | vii. 4 |

[1] The *profile* Victory is usually found on the Frankish and Visigothic imitations of the Imperial tremisses, and the *fronting* Victory on Italian imitations. The inscr. COMOB and the style of the head (cp. No. 71 with Nos. 67–70) seem, however, in this case to point to Rome.

[2] This coin reads CONOB, but from the style of *obv.* and *rev.* may be judged to belong to the same mint as No. 71.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | with head of Anastasius I. Struck in the time of Theodoric, *circ.* A.D. 493–518 (or 526?) | | |
| | | | **Half Siliqua** | | |
| | | | DNANASTA SIVSP AVC Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots. | INVIC[TA] ROMA[1] Victory, in chiton and peplos, advancing r.; in r., wreath; in l., trophy resting on her shoulder; in field, S C. Border of dots.[2] | |
| 73 | 15· (*broken*) | Æ ·6 | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-36] | | vii. 5 |
| | | | **Quarter Siliqua** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Anastasius[3] r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | INVIC TAROMA (monogram of Theodoric); above, cross; beneath, star. Border of dots.[4] | |
| 74 | 13·7 | Æ ·45 | DNANASTASIVS... (inscr. begins in front of bust, reading outwards) | (Monogram varied) [Loscombe sale, 1855] | vii. 6 |

[1] The legend *Invicta Roma* occurs also on the 'Quasi-autonomous bronze coins of Rome', described *infra*, of the time of Odovacar, Theodoric, and Athalaric. It is found, earlier, on the coins of L. Domitius Alexander struck at Carthage, A.D. 308–311: *Invicta Roma Felix Karthago* (Maurice, *Num. constantinienne*, i, pp. 360 f.). On the coins and medallions of Priscus Attalus, A.D. 409–416, the legend *Invicta Roma aeterna* occurs (Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, viii, pp. 204 f.). A contorniate in the E. F. Weber collection (Hirsch, Sale Catalogue, 1909, No. xxiv, p. 207, lot 2911, Pl. 54) is inscribed *Invicta Roma Felix Senatus* (Head of Roma).

[2] Cp. Friedlaender, *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 55, No. 2, and p. 56, No. 3.

[3] If the descriptions referred to by Friedlaender, *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 28, are correct, there are also coins of this type with the head of Justin I.

[4] These coins may be assigned to Rome (i) on account of the *rev.* inscr. (though this does not invariably indicate the Roman mint), (ii) because the *obv.* head (except perhaps on Nos. 74, 75) is in lower relief and less carefully modelled than on Ravenna coins, (iii) because the *rev.* is not ornamented with the heavy wreath characteristic of the Ravenna mint.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 75 | 10·8 | Æ ·45 | DNAN....SIVSPAVC (inscr. begins in front of bust, reading outwards) | (INVICT AROM[A]) (star partly off flan) [Baron Kolb, 1847] | vii. 7 |
| 76 | 11·4 | Æ ·45 | DNANAS.....SPP... (inscr. begins in front of bust, reading outwards) | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | |
| 77 | 13·7 | Æ ·45 | DNANASTASI.. (inscr. retrograde, beginning behind bust) | (И) (MA in ligature) [Earl of Enniskillen, 1856] | vii. 8 |
| 78 | 10·8 | Æ ·45 | DAИAS TA.... (inscr. begins behind bust) (style rude) | (S for Ƨ in mon.) [Baron Kolb, 1847] | vii. 9 |
| 79 | 12·2 | Æ ·5 | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC (inscr. retrograde, beginning behind bust); beneath bust, OIIO[1] | (IИVIC &c.) (base of monogram varied) [Cracherode bequest, 1799] | vii. 10 |
| 80 | 13·2 | Æ ·45 | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC (inscr. retrograde, beginning behind bust; beneath bust, •И•[2] | (INVIT AROMAC M[3]) (monogram as on No. 79). | vii. 11 |
| 81 | 13·3 | Æ ·5 | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC (inscr. retrograde, beginning behind bust); beneath bust, ?. | (INVIT AROMAC M) (monogram as on No. 79). | vii. 12 |

[1] Probably for CONO[B]; cp. No. 82.

[2] Cp. *Berliner Blätter für Münz-Kunde*, i (1863), p. 152.

[3] The letters CM should apparently be read in connexion with the rest of the legend. Mr. G. F. Hill well suggests that they mean *Caput Mundi*, though it must be said that the familiar 'Roma caput mundi' inscription is not found on coins till a considerably later date (it occurs on coins of Aix-la-Chapelle, of Frederick Barbarossa, 12th cent.; on coins of the Roman Senate, 13th cent.; on the Papal coinage, Eugenius IV, 15th cent.: see Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages*, vol. i, p. 7, and vol. iii, p. 471 (Eng. trans.); Engel and Serrure, *Traité de Num.*, ii, pp. 595, 596, 794; iii, pp. 1373, 1374).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 82 | 9·5 | Æ ·45 | ANVI VƧVC (inscr. begins behind bust); beneath bust, COИO | (Inscr. blundered, V ИVIC ИVVVИV?) (monogram as on No. 79, but S for Ƨ) [de Salis gift] | vii. 13 |
| | | | (Contemporary forgery, or barbarous imitation?) | | |
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | (See 'Quasi-autonomous of Rome') | | |
| | | | MILAN | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | with head of Anastasius I. Probably struck by Theodoric, A.D. 493–518 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Anastasius, beardless; three-quarters r.; wears helmet with plume and ornament, and armour; r. hand holds spear behind his head; l. hand (not represented) supports shield with horseman device. | Inscr. Victory, in chiton and peplos, standing l., holding in r. broad cross; in field r., star. | |
| 83 | 68·2 | Æ ·75 | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC [de Salis gift] | VICToRI AAVCCC; beneath, CONOB IMD (monogram of Mediolanum). | vii. 14 |
| 84 | 68· | Æ ·8 | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-3] | VICToRI AAVCCC; beneath, CONOB IMD | vii. 15 |

# ATHALARIC

son of Amalasuntha

31 Aug. 526—2 Oct. 534

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | RAVENNA | | |
| | | | **Solidus and Tremissis** | | |
| | | | (i) with head of Justin I. Struck by Athalaric, end of 526 or beginning of 527 | | |
| | | | (See under Theodoric, Ravenna, Gold (ii), p. 48, *supra*) | | |
| | | | (ii) with head of Justinian I. Struck by Athalaric after Aug. 527—2 Oct. 534, and by his successors, Theodahad and Witigis, A.D. 534–540 | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ANVSPF A/C Bust of Justinian I, beardless, with head three-quarters r.; wears helmet with plume and armour; r. hand holds spear behind his head; l. hand (not represented) supports shield decorated with horseman device. | VICTOR I AAVCCC Victory, in chiton and peplos, standing l., holding in r. broad cross; in field l., star; in ex., COMOB | |
| 1 | 68·1 | *A* ·9 | (Λ; ΛVC) [Bank of England gift, 1877] | (Λ for A) at end of inscr., Λ | vii. 16 |
| 2 | 68·4 | *A* ·85 | (Λ; ΛVC) (plume and circular ornament on helmet) | (CC•C) at end of inscr., A [Townshend coll.] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 68·5 | *AV* ·8 | (Λ; ΛVC) [Royal coll.] | (Λ for A) at end of inscr., •Λ | |
| 4 | 68·8 | *AV* ·85 | [Purchased, 1873, 12-1-2] | (Λ for A) at end of inscr., •Λ | vii. 17 |
| 5 | 67·8 | *AV* ·8 | (F•; •C) [de Salis gift] | At end of inscr., •A | |
| 6 | 68·5 | *AV* ·85 | (Λ; ΛC) (plume and circular ornament on helmet) | (A for A) at end of inscr., A [Royal coll.] | |
| | | | (Ruder style) | | |
| 7 | 68·4 | *AV* ·8 | (A; ends ΛV) [de Salis gift] | (VICTORI ΛΛVCCC) at end of inscr., Λ | vii. 18 |
| 8 | 68·2 | *AV* ·85 | (Λ; ends ΛC) [de Salis gift] | At end of inscr., Λ (COИOↃ) | vii. 19 |
| 9 | 65·4 | *AV* ·8 | (Λ; Λ; C blundered) (style barbarous) | (Ends ΛΛVCCCΛV) (CONICI for CO MOB) (type barbarous) | vii. 20 *rev.* |
| | | | Tremissis (with COMOB)[1] | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ΛNVSP FΛC Bust of Justinian I r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | VICTORIΛΛVCVST ORVM Victory on globus to front or right, looking l.; in r., wreath; in l., globus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., COMOB | |
| 10 | 22·6 | *AV* ·6 | [Royal coll.] | | vii. 21 |

[1] It is possible that the exergual inscriptions COMOB and CONOB (see p. 62) may indicate two distinct mints—Rome and Ravenna, but I have not ventured to make this separation. All the coins have the rough, gritty reverses which are apparently characteristic of the tremisses of Ravenna. As the capital of the Ostrogothic kings, Ravenna is a more likely mint than Rome.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | 22·7 | *AV* ·6 | [de Salis gift] | | |
| 12 | 22·5 | *AV* ·6 | [Royal coll.] | (COИOB) | |
| 13 | 22·2 | *AV* ·6 | (AVC) [Royal coll.] | | vii. 22 |
| 14 | 22·4 | *AV* ·6 | (Inscr. continuous; ΛVC) [de Salis gift] | (Star l. instead of r.)[1] | |
| | | | (with CONOB) | | |
| 15 | 22·4 | *AV* ·55 | (DNIVSTI NIΛNVSP FΛVC) | (CONOB) (star l. instead of r.) [de Salis gift] | vii. 23 |
| 16 | 21·8 | *AV* ·65 | (PP for PF) [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-28] | (CONOB) (star l. instead of r.) | viii. 1 |
| 17 | 22·2 | *AV* ·6 | (PP for PF) [de Salis gift] | (A for Λ) (CONOB) (star omitted) | |
| 18 | 22·3 | *AV* ·6 | (Ends P(P?)ΛC) [de Salis gift] | (ΛVSTORVM) (CONOB) | viii. 2 |
| 19 | 22·2 | *AV* ·65 | (PP for PF) above head, ✱ in graffito. | (A for Λ) (CONOB) [Blacas coll., 1867] | |
| 20 | 22·5 | *AV* ·6 | (Ends ANVSPPΛVC) | (CONOB) [de Salis gift] | |
| 21 | 22·5 | *AV* ·55 | (Ends ANVSPPAIC) [de Salis gift] | (A for Λ) (CONOB) | |

[1] The tremissis of Justinian, set in a third-century ring, described in Marshall, *Catal. of Finger Rings in the British Museum*, No. 262, belongs to the same class as our Nos. 10–14 (on *rev.* COMOB and Victory).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 | 22· | *AV* ·55 | (DNIVSTINI ΛNVSP PΛV•) [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-29] | (II for M) (CONO (R ?)) | |
| 23 | 22·2 | *AV* ·6 | (PI instead of PF) | (CONO\) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-6] | |
| 24 | 22·7 | *AV* ·6 | (PI instead of PF) | (CONO\) [de Salis gift] | viii. 3 |
| 25 | 22·2 | *AV* ·55 | (Ends PΓICI) [Royal coll.] | (II for M) (COIIOT) | |
| 26 | 21· | *AV* ·6 | (Ends PPΛCΛ) (end of diadem detached from head) | (VICTORIΛVVΛCVS TORVVV) (CONOI) [de Salis gift] | viii. 4 |
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | (i) with head of Justin I. Struck by Athalaric, end of 526 or beginning of 527 | | |
| | | | **Half Siliqua** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTI NVSPΛVC Bust of Justin I r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | DRΛN (monogram of Athalaric); above, cross; beneath, star; whole in wreath. | |
| 27 | 21·4 | *Æ* ·55 | [de Salis gift] | | viii. 5 |
| | | | **Quarter Siliqua** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTI NVSPΛVC Bust of Justin I r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | DN ATHA LARI CVS within wreath. | |
| 28 | 10·6 | *Æ* ·5 | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | | viii. 6 |
| 29 | 10·8 | *Æ* ·45 | [de Salis gift] | | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (ii) with head of Justinian I. Struck by Athalaric after Aug. 527—2 Oct. 534 | | |
| | | | Half Siliqua | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ANVSP AVC Bust of Justinian I r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | DRSTN (monogram of Athalaric); above, cross; beneath, star; whole in wreath. | |
| 30 | 20·8 | Æ ·5 | | | viii. 7 |
| 31 | 18·8 | Æ ·5 | (P omitted; ends AVC) | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought of an Italian coin-dealer] | |
| 32 | 20·6 | Æ ·55 | (DNIVSTI NIANAV C) | (Cross-bar of mon. placed higher) [Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 587] | |
| 33 | 21·8 | Æ ·5 | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-56] | (DRSTN C) (star omitted) | viii. 8 |
| 34 | 16·5 (*corroded*) | Æ ·55 | (End of inscr. obscure) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-15] | (Monogram as on No. 33) (star omitted) | |
| | | | Quarter Siliqua | | |
| | | | DNIVSTI NIANAVC Bust of Justinian I r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | DN ATHAL ARICVS RIX within wreath. | |
| 35 | 10·8 | Æ ·45 | [Baron Kolb, 1847] | | viii. 9 |
| 36 | 11·1 | Æ ·4 | (DNIVSTIN; rest obscure, ends AVC) | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought of an Italian coin-dealer] | viii. 10 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 37 | 10·2 | Æ ·45 | [DNIVSTIN] IANA VC | | |
| 38 | 10·7 | Æ ·4 | [Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 587] | | |
| 39 | 11·2 | Æ ·4 | | | |
| 40 | 10·6 | Æ ·4 | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought of an Italian coin-dealer] | (REX) | |

**Bronze**

(i) with head of Justin I

V (5 nummi)

Some of the bronze coins of this denomination described *supra* under Theodoric, p. 52, may have been issued by Athalaric, end of 526 or beginning of 527. Cp. Thomsen, *Cat.*, p. 82, No. 993 (*rev.* monogram of Athalaric), but the *obv.* described by Thomsen as intended for Justin I may conceivably be of Justinian I. Cp. also Friedlaender, *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 32, and Sabatier, i, p. 200, No. 9, Pl. XVIII. 18 (*obv.* Head of Justin, *rev.* Monogram of Athalaric ?)

(ii) with head of Justinian I. Struck by Athalaric after Aug. 527—2 Oct. 534

X (10 nummi)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian I r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | X within wreath. | |
| 41 | 54· | Æ ·75 | DNIVSTII [A]NVSPP AVC | | viii. 11 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 42 | 60·5 | Æ ·6 | DNIVSTINI .NVSP PAVC | [de Salis gift] | viii. 12 |
| 43 | 37· | Æ ·55 | DNIVSTIII. .NVSPP AVC | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-149] | viii. 13 |
| 44 | 33·2 | Æ ·55 | DNIVSNI VSPPAVC | [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-296] | |
| 45 | 32·7 | Æ ·55 | DNIVSII VSPPAVC | [de Salis gift] | viii. 14 |
| | | | V (5 nummi) | | |
| | | | [DNIV]STINI ANVS PP Bust of Justinian I l., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. | V within wreath. | |
| 46 | 15·8 | Æ ·45 | [de Salis gift] | | viii. 15 |
| | | | (iii) with head of Justinian I and monogram of Athalaric | | |
| | | | Small Bronze | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian I r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | RSC within wreath. | |
| 47 | 16·4 | Æ ·4 | IVST INIANII | [Purchased, 1864, 7-19-31] | viii. 16 |
| 48 | 15· | Æ ·35 | VSTI | | viii. 17 |
| 49 | 12·5 | Æ ·4 | Ends NIANI | [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-6] | |
| 50 | 13·4 | Æ ·4 | .... NIAN.. | [Baron Kolb, 1847] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 51 | 12·2 | Æ ·35 | IVST NI | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-461] | |
| 52 | 12·7 | Æ ·45 | .VSTI N... | [de Salis gift] | viii. 18 |
| 53 | 13·8 | Æ ·4 | IVSTI | [de Salis gift] | |
| 54 | 15·1 | Æ ·4 | IVSTI NIΛN | [de Salis gift] | |
| 55 | 14·7 | Æ ·4 | IVSTI И... | | |
| 56 | 12·5 | Æ ·4 | .VST INI. | [Presented by Mr. J. Doubleday, 1846[1]] | |
| | | | (iv) with name of Athalaric (only) | | |
| | | | [X] | | |
| | | | INVICT AROMA Bust of Roma r., wearing helmet with plume, earring, necklace, and drapery; hair long. | DN ATHAL ARICVS REX within wreath, with circular ornament above and X beneath.[2] | |
| 57 | 77·4 | Æ ·7 | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought of an Italian coin-dealer] | | |

[1] If the descriptions in Friedlaender, *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 33, No. 6, and Sabatier, i. p. 201, No. 14, Pl. 18, 23, may be relied on there are also X nummi pieces with *obv.* Head of Justinian, *rev.* Monogram of Athalaric.

[2] The X, found also on silver coins, is strictly only the tie of the wreath (cp. the M (40 nummia) coins of Justinian I at Rome, Pl. XV. 2, where the X is very prominent), but may possibly have been here regarded as also indicating the denomination (10 nummi) of the coin.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 58 | 60·4 | Æ ·65 | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | (Λ for A) | |
| 59 | 52· | Æ ·7 | [Northwick sale, 1860] | | viii. 19 |
| | | | [X] | | |
| | | | Friedlaender (*M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 35, No. 11, Pl. I. 11) describes and figures after Pinci, *De nummis Ravennatibus*, the following: *obv.* FELIX RAVENNA Bust of Ravenna r., with mural crown, *rev.* Monogram of Athalaric. | | |
| | | | V (5 nummi) | | |
| | | | INVIC TAROMA Bust of Roma r., wearing helmet with plume, earring, necklace, and drapery; hair long. | † DNATHALARICV SRIX V with pellet in centre. | |
| 60 | 24·7 | Æ ·5 | [de Salis gift] | | viii. 20 |
| 61 | 14·5 (*worn*) | Æ ·45 | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-460] | (Λ for A ?) | |

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See also 'Quasi-autonomous of Ravenna'.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | ROME<br>Bronze<br>X nummi | | |
| | | | INVICT AROMA<br>Bust of Roma r., wearing helmet with plume, circular earring with pendant, necklace of two rows, and drapery; long hair. Border of dots. | DNATAL ARICVS<br>Athalaric standing r., holding in r. spear, in l. oval shield with pellet in centre; wears helmet, cuirass, and paludamentum; in field, S C / X (i.e. *Senatus consulto*; 10 nummi). Border of dots.[1] | |
| 62 | 44·2 | Æ ·75 | (INBICT) | (DN) | viii. 21 |
| 63 | 50·5 | Æ ·75 | (INBICT) | (D) | |
| 64 | 40·3 | Æ ·7 | (INBICT) | [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-5] | |
| 65 | 41·4 | Æ ·7 | | (Λ for A) | viii. 22 |
| 66 | 45·1 | Æ ·7 | [Bank of England gift, 1877] | (Λ; A; Λ) | |
| 67 | 44·7 | Æ ·7 | (Λ for A)<br>[Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought of an Italian coin-dealer] | (Λ; A; Λ?) (on shield, pellet in circle?) | |

[1] Nos. 62–4 (with INBICTA) are probably the earliest coins of this series, for they give the details with great fidelity: on the succeeding coins the details (especially the treatment of the long hair) are less carefully executed.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 68 | 46·1 | Æ ·7 | [Baron Kolb, 1847] | (DNΛTHΛL ΛRIC VS) (on shield, pellet in circle) | viii. 23 |
| 69 | 37·6 | Æ ·65 | (INVIC TΛROMΛ) | (DNΛTHΛ[L] ΛRIC VS) (on shield, pellet in circle) | viii. 24 |
| 70 | 39·6 | Æ ·7 | (INVIC TΛROMΛ) [Baron Kolb, 1847] | (DNΛTHΛ[L] [Λ]RI CVS) (shield-ornament as on No. 69?) | viii. 25 |
| 71 | 41·5 | Æ ·65 | (INVIC TΛROMΛ) [de Salis gift] | (DNATHΛL ARIC VS) (shield-ornament obscure) | |

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See also 'Quasi-autonomous of Rome'.

# AMALASUNTHA

daughter of Theodoric;

regent for her son Athalaric, 31 Aug. 526—2 Oct. 534; wife of Theodahad from 534 till her death, 30 April, 535

No coins appear to have been issued in her name.

# THEODAHAD

son of Amalafrida, the sister of Theodoric

3 Oct. 534—(Nov. ?) 536

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | RAVENNA | | |
| | | | Gold | | |
| | | | For gold coins with the name of Justinian I probably struck by Theodahad see under 'Athalaric', *supra*, p. 60 (ii) | | |
| | | | Silver | | |
| | | | (with head of Justinian I) | | |
| | | | Half Siliqua | | |
| | | | DNIVSTI NIANAVC Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | (monogram of Theodahad) within wreath, with circular ornament in upper part. | |
| 1 | 19·3 | Æ ·5 | (AVC)/ | [Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 588] | ix. 1 |
| 2 | 21·5 | Æ ·55 | | [de Salis gift] | ix. 2 |
| 3 | 21·1 | Æ ·6 | (AVC obscure) | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | ix. 3 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Quarter Siliqua** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTI NIΛNΛVC Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | DN THEODΛ HΛTHVS REX within wreath, with circular ornament in upper part, and X in lower part. | |
| 4 | 11·3 | Æ ·45 | [Blacas coll., 1867] | (Without X?) | |
| 5 | 11· | Æ ·45 | [Baron Kolb, 1847] | (A for Λ) | ix. 4 |
| 6 | 11·4 | Æ ·45 | (ΛVC) | [Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 588] | ix. 5 |
| 7 | 11·4 | Æ ·45 | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought at Sotheby's, 1 July, 1890, lot 197] | (RIX) | |
| 8 | 11·2 | Æ ·4 | [Loscombe sale, 1855] | (RIX[1]) | ix. 6 |
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | (i) with name of Justinian I | | |
| | | | **V nummi** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ΛNVSP PΛVC Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots. | V within wreath. | |
| 9 | 45·8 | Æ ·65 | (DNIVSTNII NVS PPAVC) | | ix. 7 |

[1] The silver coin with *rev.* AMENITAS DEI, which has been sometimes assigned to Theodebert I the Merovingian, and which Keary (*Coinages of Western Europe*, pp. 79 f.) proposed to attribute to Theodahad, is Imperial Byzantine of Theodosius, the son of Maurice Tiberius (Wroth, *Imp. Byz. Coins*, i, p. 160, No. 293).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | 54·5 | Æ ·65 | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-150] | | ix. 8 |
| 11 | 53·2 | Æ ·65 | (A for Λ) | [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-133] | ix. 9 |
| 12 | 53·3 | Æ ·6 | | | |
| 13 | 48·2 | Æ ·6 | (inscr. continuous) | | |
| 14 | 51·3 | Æ ·6 | (DNIVST...; rest partly obscure) (style ruder than on Nos. 9–13) | (Style ruder than on Nos. 9–13) [de Salis gift] | ix. 10 |
| | | | **Small Bronze** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. | (monogram of Theodahad) within wreath.[1] | |
| 15 | 6·3 (*worn*) | Æ ·35 | (Inscr. obscure; ends NI?) | | ix. 11 |
| | | | (ii) with name of Theodahad | | |
| | | | [X] | | |
| | | | INVICT AROMA Bust of Roma r., wearing crested helmet, earring, necklace, and drapery; hair long. | DN THEODA HATHVS REX within wreath, in lower part of which, X | |
| 16 | 60·4 | Æ ·7 | | | ix. 12 |

[1] For similar specimens and varieties see Friedlaender, *M. d. Vandalen*, p. 44 and p. 67; *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 38; Thomsen, *Cat.*, p. 83, No. 1005; Sabatier, i, Pl. XVIII. 30, 31, and 32.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17 | 66·7 | Æ ·85 | [Baron Kolb, 1847] | | |
| 18 | 53·2 (*worn*) | Æ ·7 | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; purchased of an Italian coin-dealer] | | |
| | | | ROME<br>Bronze<br>XL nummi<br>Struck Jan. 536?[1] | | |
| | | | DNTHEODA HATVS REX Bust of Theodahad r., beardless, but with moustache; hair short; wears closed crown ornamented with jewels and two stars, and with pellet within crescent at its apex; also robe ornamented with jewels and a cross. Border of dots. | VICTORIA PRINCI PVM Victory in girdled chiton standing r., on prow; in r., wreath; in l., palm-branch; in field, S C. Border of dots. | |
| 19 | 181·7 | Æ 1·05 | | (И)<br>[Baron Kolb, 1847] | ix. 13 |
| 20 | 163·2 | Æ 1·05 | | (Ч for M)<br>[Purchased, 1908, 5-6-7] | ix. 14 |
| 21 | 154·8 | Æ 1·05 | (Cross smaller than on Nos. 19, 20) | [Townley coll.] | ix. 15 |

[1] On the date see 'Introd.', *supra*, § 2, under 'Theodahad'. Mr. Hodgkin (*Italy and her Invaders*, iii, p. 651) suggests that the legend *Principum* of the *rev.* may refer to the union of Theodahad and Amalasuntha, but it is possible that *Principum* (instead of *Principis*) may be used by analogy with the conventional 'Victoria *Augustorum*' found on the Imperial gold coins. The legend VICTORIA AVCVST. is also stated to occur (Sabatier, *Descript.*, vol. i, Theodahad, No. 2; *Mem. Soc. Arch. St. Petersburg*, 1851, p. 159; cp. Friedlaender, *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 39). The Victory type of the *rev.* is derived from a specimen of the 'Quasi-autonomous bronze of Rome' (time of Theodoric), described *infra* and Pl. XIII. 1, and figured in Friedlaender, *M. d. Vandalen*, Pl. II and p. 68, and Sabatier, i, p. 211, No. 6, Pl. XIX. 29.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 | 150· | Æ 1· | (DNTHEO DAHATV SREX) | (VICTORIAP RINC IPVM) [de Salis gift] | ix. 16 |
| 23 | 162·3 | Æ 1·05 | (DNTHEO DAHATV SREX) (cross smaller than on Nos. 19, 20) | (VICTORIAP RINCI PVM) [Earl of Enniskillen, 1856] | ix. 17 |
| 24 | 147·2 | Æ 1· | (DИTHEOD AHATV SRE X) (cross obscure) | VICLOЯIVЬ RIИCP VM (*sic*) (Ƨ C) [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; from the York Moore sale, Sotheby's, 9 March, &c., 1889, lot 1146[1]] | ix. 18 |

[1] The engraving of the types and legends is careless. Perhaps the coin is an ancient forgery. For modern forgeries of bronze coins of Theodahad see *Num. Zeitschrift*, iii, p. 140; xxvii, pp. 123, 124. In some cases the name Theodahatus has been altered into 'Theodebaldus'. Cp. Regling, *Jahresberichte über die num. Literatur*, 1901, 1902 (in *Z. f. N.*, xxiv), p. 58.

# WITIGIS

husband of Matasuntha, grand-daughter of Theodoric

Nov.? 536—Spring, 540 (deposition)

(*died*, 542)

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | RAVENNA | | |
| | | | **Gold** | | |
| | | | For gold coins with the name of Justinian I probably struck by Witigis see under 'Athalaric', *supra*, p. 60 (ii). | | |
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | (with head of Justinian I) | | |
| | | | **Half Siliqua** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | DN<br>VVIT<br>ICES<br>REX<br>within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X | |
| 1 | 22·6 | Æ ·55 | DNIVSTINI ΛNVSPΓ ΛV | [Baron Kolb, 1847] | x. 1 |
| 2 | 22· | Æ ·55 | DNIVSTINI ΛNVSP IΛV | [Devonshire coll.] | x. 2 |
| 3 | 19·5 (*worn*) | Æ ·5 | DNIVSTI NIΛN(Λ VC?) | (Letters small) [Devonshire coll.] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 19· | Æ ·55 | DNIVSTI NIANPFI VC | [Devonshire coll.] | |
| 5 | 20·8 | Æ ·5 | DNIVSTI [NIAN]A VC | (И) [Blacas, 1867] | |
| 6 | 19·6 | Æ ·5 | DNIVSTI (NIANPF AVC?) | (ICIS) [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought at Sim sale, Sotheby's, 23 June, &c., 1890, lot 694] | x. 3 |
| | | | **Quarter Siliqua** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | (monogram of Theodoric) within broad wreath.[1] | |
| 7 | 11·1 | Æ ·45 | DNIVSTI NIANVSA | (R disjoined; wreath narrow) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-14] | x. 4 |
| 8 | 9·6 | Æ ·45 | DNIVSTI NIANAC [de Salis gift] | (monogram) in upper part of wreath, circular ornament; in lower, X | x. 5 |
| 9 | 11· | Æ ·45 | DNIVSTI [NIAN]A VC | (Mon. as on No. 8, but Ϛ for C; limbs of E shown); wreath has circular ornament. | x. 6 |
| 10 | 10·6 | Æ ·45 | DNIVSTI NIANAC | (Mon. as No. 9, but limbs of T shown; no pellet); wreath has circular ornament. | x. 7 |

[1] As to the attribution of these coins see 'Introduction', *supra*, § 2, Italian coins with Imperial names, Justinian I. The *obv.* of No. 7 closely resembles the *obv.* of Matasuntha, *infra*, No. 1.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | **10 nummi** | | |
| | | | INVICT AROMA<br>Bust of Roma r., wearing crested helmet, necklace, and drapery; hair long. | DN<br>VVIT<br>ICES<br>REX<br>within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X | |
| 11 | 69·6 | Æ ·65 | [Baron Kolb, 1847] | | x. 8 |
| 12 | 47· | Æ ·65 | | (Ornaments of wreath obscure) | x. 9 |
| 13 | 56·8 | Æ ·65 | (*Obv.* badly preserved) [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | (ICIS) (circular ornament obscure) | x. 10 *rev.* |

# MATASUNTHA

grand-daughter of Theodoric, queen of Witigis

(Dec. ?) 536—(Spring ?) 540

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | RAVENNA<br>Silver<br>Half Siliqua | | |
| 1 | 21·1 | Æ ·55 | DNIVSTINI ΛNVSP PΛ Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.<br>[Rev. Greville J. Chester, 1890[1]] | (monogram of Matasuntha) within wreath. | x. 11 |
| | | | TICINUM ?<br>Silver<br>Half Siliqua [2] | | |
| 2 | 18·9 | Æ ·55 | DNIVSTINI ΛNVSP PAC Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing ornamented diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots.<br>[Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 588] | within circular border; whole in wreath.[3] | x. 12 |

[1] The *obv.* head is of the same style as No. 7, Pl. X. 4, of Witigis, *supra*.

[2] The low relief of the *obv.*, the style of the drapery, &c., prove that these coins (Nos. 2–5) were not struck at Ravenna. Ticinum (Pavia), the second Ostrogothic capital, has probably the best claim to their issue, which may have taken place at the time of the marriage of Matasuntha (Dec.? 536) or, later, after the battle of Ticinum (A.D. 538), when the Goths, defeated by the Imperialists, took refuge in Pavia. On these coins see further 'Introduction', *supra*, § 2, 'Matasuntha,' where the possibility of Constantinople being the mint-place is alluded to.

[3] A modern forgery of these types is noted in *Num. Zeitschrift*, xxvii, p. 123.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 17·7 | Æ ·5 | [Sale at Sotheby's, 4 Dec. 1854, lot 17] | | |
| 4 | 18· | Æ ·6 | (Ends ΛC) | [de Salis gift] | x. 13 |
| 5 | 18·6 | Æ ·55 | [Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, 1853, lot 588] | | x. 14 |
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | **20 nummi?** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ANVS.... (inscr. partly obscure) Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Border. | TSK D (i.e. monogram of Matasuntha and K) within wreath. | |
| 6 | 87· | Æ ·85 | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-89][1] | | x. 15 |

[1] Another specimen of this rare coin is described in the Thomsen *Catalogue*, p. 84, No. 1013, Pl. II. 1013; and another was in the E. F. Weber collection (Sale Catalogue, Hirsch, No. xxiv, München, May, 1909, lot 3038). K may be explained as '20' (nummi), the mark of value found on the Imperial coins of Justinian. The style of the *rev.* would be quite suitable to Ravenna, but the *obv.* in its low relief and its treatment of the drapery resembles the obverses of Nos. 2–5. The coin may therefore be assigned, like them, to Ticinum. See further, 'Introduction,' *supra*, § 2, 'Matasuntha.'

## ILDIBAD

Spring ? 540—May ? 541

Apparently did not issue coins.

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## ERARIC

May ?—Sept. ? 541

Apparently did not issue coins.

# BADUILA

(also called **TOTILA**)

nephew of Ildibad

SEPT.? 541—JULY or AUG. 552

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | TICINUM<br>Gold[1]<br>A. D. 541–552<br>Solidus | | |
| 1 | 69· | *A* ·75 | DNANASTA SIVSPF AVÇ Bust of Anastasius I r., beardless, with head three-quarters r.; wears helmet, with plume and ornament, and armour; r. hand holds spear behind his head; l. hand (not represented) supports shield decorated with horseman device.<br>[de Salis gift] | VICTORI AAVCCC I Victory in chiton and peplos standing l., holding in r. broad cross; in field r., star; in ex., COM OB | x. 16 |

[1] The mint-place was probably Ticinum (Pavia), the Gothic centre, now that Ravenna was in the hands of the Imperialists. It is not unlikely, however, that some of the coins may have been struck, for convenience, at other cities, such as Naples, which came into Baduila's hands in May, 543.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Anastasius I r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | Inscr. Victory to front moving r., looking l.; in r., wreath; in l., globus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., CONOB[1] | |
| 2 | 20·2 | *Æ* ·55 | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC On head, crescent and pellet. | VICTORIAAVCVST ORVM (COMOB) [de Salis gift] | x. 17 |
| 3 | 20·2 | *Æ* ·55 | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC On head, crescent and pellet. | VICTORIAAVCVST ORVM (COMOB) [de Salis gift] | x. 18 |
| 4 | 22·2 | *Æ* ·6 | DNANATA SIVSPP AVC On head, ✱. | VICTORIAAVCVST ORVM (CONOI) [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-20] | x. 19 |
| 5 | 21·6 | *Æ* ·55 | DNANASTA SIVSP AVC On head, +. | VICTORSAAVCOSTR VI [de Salis gift] | x. 20 |
| 6 | 21·8 | *Æ* ·55 | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC | VICTORIAA VCSTO RVM [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-18] | x. 21 |
| 7 | 22·4 | *Æ* ·6 | DNANASTASIVSPP AVC | VICTORI AAVCVST N (Star, in field l.) [de Salis gift] | x. 22 |

[1] The globus on which the Victory stands on the tremisses of earlier reigns is now no longer represented.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | 22·2 | Æ ·5 | DNΛNΛSTΛ SIVSPΛ VC On head, +. | VICTORIΛΛVCVST ORVM [de Salis gift] | x. 23 |
| 9 | 22·7 | Æ ·65 | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-72][1] | VICTORIΛΛVCVST ROVH | x. 24 |
| 10 | 21·6 | Æ ·55 | DNΛNASTA SIVSPP AVC | VICTORIΛΛVCVST OЯVM [de Salis gift] | x. 25 |
| 11 | 23·1 | Æ ·6 | DNANAST SIVSPPA VC [de Salis gift] | VICTORIΛΛVCVST ORV (without star) (CONOR) | x. 26 |
| 12 | 22·4 | Æ ·6 | DNΛNΛSTΛ• SIVSP PΛVC [Dr. G. F. Nott's sale, 1842] | VICTORIAAVCVSTO RΛH (CONOR) | xi. 1 |
| 13 | 21· | Æ ·65 | DNΛNASTA SIVSPP AVC [Royal coll.] | VICTORIAAVCVSTO RVH (CONOR) | xi. 2 |

### Silver

(i) with head of Justinian issued *circ.* A.D. 541[2]

### Half Siliqua

A 'siliqua' (weight not stated; ? half siliqua) is described in the Rossi Sale Catalogue (Rome, 1880), p. 251, lot 3359, with *obv.* Head of Justinian, *rev.* DN BADV ILA REX in wreath. The similar coin described by Friedlaender (*M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 46, No. 1, Pl. II. 1) as a 'siliqua' is a quarter siliqua: see the next description.

[1] On Nos. 9–13 the neck of the *obv.* bust is abnormally long.

[2] Coins of Baduila with the head of Justinian are very rare. It may be presumed that they were issued for a short time at the beginning of Baduila's reign, but that the king was soon induced by political reasons to reject the head of the reigning emperor and to substitute for it (since commercial convention required the presence of an Imperial effigy) the head of another emperor. He selected Anastasius, who had been the contemporary of Theodoric, and whose head had appeared on Theodoric's coins.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Quarter Siliqua** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ΛNVS... Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. | D N B Λ D V I L Λ R E X within wreath. | |
| | | | Æ. Size, ·5 inch; weight, ·405 grammes (= 6–7 grains troy). National Museum, Copenhagen. | | xi. 3 |
| | | | This rare coin is here photographed from a plaster cast of the original kindly sent to the British Museum by Dr. C. Jörgensen. It has been previously described and figured by Friedlaender in his *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 46 A, Pl. II. 1. It must be a quarter siliqua of light weight, and not, as Friedlaender described it, a siliqua. The *obv.* legend is very faint, but sufficiently clear to show that it consists of the name of Justinian, and not (as we should rather have expected) of the name of Anastasius. | | |
| | | | Sabatier, i, p. 208, No. 17, Pl. XIX. 18, describes a coin with *obv.* head of Justinian, *rev.* BAD i.e. monogram of Baduila (as on the bronze coins, Pl. XI. 14, *infra*), within wreath. He does not state from what source this description is derived. | | |
| | | | (ii) with head of Anastasius I | | |
| | | | **Half Siliqua** | | |
| | | | Issued 541 (or 542)–549 ? | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | D N B Λ D V I L Λ R E X within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X[1] | |
| 14 | 21·4 | Æ ·55 | DNΛNΛSTΛ SIVSP ΛVC | [Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 586] | xi. 4 |

[1] These coins cannot have been struck at Ravenna, but Nos. 14 and 15 are good imitations of the productions of that mint, perhaps due to the employment at Ticinum of an old Ravenna craftsman. The remaining specimens are of much cruder work, which likewise characterizes the corresponding coins of the next reign.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | 19·8 | Æ ·55 | DNANASTA SIVS.... | (L for L) [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | xi. 5 |
| 16 | 21·2 | Æ ·55 | DNANAS TASIVS.. [Blacas coll., 1867] | (+ before DN; pellet above L) | xi. 6 |
| 17 | 19· | Æ ·55 | DNANAS TASIVSPA [de Salis gift] | (RIX, with pellet beneath the I) | xi. 7 |
| 18 | 16·7 (*chipped*) | Æ ·55 | DOMNOIAV ..\S/VC Above head, pellet in crescent; (tie of diadem separated from the diadem) | (RIX) [Baron Kolb coll., 1847[1]] | xi. 8 |
| | | | **Quarter Siliqua** (*circ.* 541 or 542 ?) | | |
| | | | DNAIIA ITAIIVI Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. | (monogram of Theodoric) within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament.[2] | |
| 19 | 6·4 | Æ ·4 | [de Salis gift] | | xi. 9 |

Sabatier describes (i, p. 208, No. 9, Pl. XIX. 13) a quarter siliqua with *obv.* Head of Anastasius, *rev.* (monogram of Baduila), as on p. 86, *supra*.

[1] A similar (or possibly the same) coin is engraved by Banduri, vol. ii, Plate, p. 621: Friedlaender (*M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 48) doubted his reading, which is, however, confirmed in essentials by our No. 18. The *obv.* legend seems in the main blundered, but DOMNOI (*domino*) may be compared with the DOMNVS on a silver coin of Theia described *infra*.

[2] A later development of the coins with the monogram of Theodoric that we have assigned, *supra*, p. 78, to Witigis.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Issued 541 (or 542)–549? | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | DN BADV ILA RIX within wreath. | |
| 20 | 9·5 | Ar ·5 | DNANAS TASIAVC (letters blurred); above head, star. | X in lower part of wreath. [de Salis gift] | xi. 10 |
| 21 | 6·4 | Ar ·4 | Ends ASTASI [de Salis gift] | (BADV) (REX) circular ornament in upper part of wreath. | xi. 11 |
| 22 | 8·7 | Ar ·4 | Inscr. obscure, ends VSAVC | [de Salis gift] | xi. 12 |
| | | | (iii) with head of Baduila | | |
| | | | Half Siliqua | | |
| | | | *circ.* A.D. 549[1] | | |
| | | | DNBADV ILARIX Bust of Baduila r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | DN BADV ILA REX within wreath. | |
| 23 | 21·7 | Ar ·55 | [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | Pellet in centre, between L and A | xi. 13 |

[1] The appearance of a portrait of Baduila on his bronze coins (see *infra*, p. 91, No. 38), may be assigned to the year 549. The head on this coin, inscribed with Baduila's name, may also be another innovation introduced at about the same date. No doubt it was intended to pass as a portrait of the king, though it is in reality hardly modified from the head of Anastasius. As the types of the regal half siliquae had become stereotyped, any startling change—such as one from the profile bust to the full-face bust seen on the *bronze* money of Baduila—would no doubt have impeded the free circulation of the coins.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | (i) with head of Anastasius I *circ.* A.D. 541–549[1] | | |
| | | | **Small Bronze** | | |
| | | | (Type A) | | |
| | | | DN ANASTASIVS P P A Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. | DN BADV ILA REX in wreath. | |
| | | | Æ. Size, ·4 inch. Described in Thomsen, *Catal.*, i, p. 84, No. 1015. | | |
| | | | (Type B) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. | (monogram of Baduila) within wreath; above monogram, small cross. | |
| 24 | 12·3 | Æ ·35 | (Traces of inscr.) | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-450] | xi. 14 |
| 25 | 12·2 | Æ ·35 | ANAS AV(?) | [de Salis gift] | xi. 15 |
| 26 | 11· | Æ ·35 | Ends ASIVS | [de Salis gift] | |
| 27 | 11· | Æ ·35 | (Traces of inscr.) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |

[1] Baduila does not (as in the case of his silver money, p. 85, *supra*) appear to have issued bronze with the head of Justinian. The coins with the head of Anastasius may be assigned to the period 541–549, in which last-named year, in all probability (see p. 91, '(iii) Bronze,' *infra*), the profile bust of Anastasius was withdrawn in favour of the full-face bust of Baduila.

Of the coins with the head of Anastasius there are three types, the order of which is somewhat hard to determine. Type A corresponds to the regal half siliquae and quarter siliquae (pp. 86–8, *supra*) issued 541 or 542–549? Type B perhaps precedes C, as its monogrammatic reverse is based on old models (e.g. the bronze of Theodahad), while C displays a *rev.* type of a new kind.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (Type C) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. | D̄NREX<br>B<br>within wreath.[1] | |
| 28 | 14·6 | Æ ·35 | DNANA STA &c. | Above inscr., ✱<br>[Cracherode bequest, 1799] | xi. 16 |
| 29 | 10· | Æ ·35 | In front, N..<br>[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-462] | Above inscr., ✱ | xi. 17 |
| 30 | 11·5 | Æ ·3 | (Inscr. off flan) | | xi. 18 |
| 31 | 11·8 | Æ ·4 | Ends AVC | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | xi. 19 |
| 32 | 8·2 | Æ ·3 | Ends AVC | (DN for D̄N)<br>[Doubleday purchase, 1849] | xi. 20 |
| 33 | 13· | Æ ·35 | (Inscr. off flan) | [de Salis gift] | |
| 34 | 10·7 | Æ ·35 | DN &c.<br>[de Salis gift] | (DN for D̄N) | |
| 35 | 10·5 | Æ ·35 | (Inscr. off flan) | [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | |
| 36 | 8·3 | Æ ·3 | Traces of inscr. | [Presented by Mr. J. Doubleday, 1846] | xi. 21 |

[1] Most of these coins are struck on flans of insufficient size, and the X in REX, and other details, are, therefore, often not visible.

[2] This coin is modelled, as regards the *obv.*, on the *Felix Ravenna* coins (Pl. XIV. 8–13), which we assign to the time of Theodoric and Athalaric (with the name of the city compare Paul. Diac., *H. L.*, ii. 15 'Ticinus, quae alio nomine Papia appellatur'). Two specimens (weighing about 42 and 72 grains respectively) in the Brambilla collection (C. Brambilla, *Monete di Pavia* (1883), Pl. I, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 9 f.) show the X in the lower part of the wreath on the *rev.*, and the coins are for this reason perhaps to be identified as 10-nummus pieces. However, specimens occur of varying module and weight: thus, Brambilla, Pl. I. 4, is considerably larger than our No. 37, and weighs over 72 grains troy, as contrasted with the 46 grains of No. 37. We might consider these two weights as representing the 10-nummus and the 5-nummus, but perhaps it is best to regard them as a heavy and light coinage of the 10-nummus denomination. (Cp. the heavy and light 10-nummus described, *infra*, p. 91, note 3.)

With regard to date, No. 37 may be most conveniently placed in the period 541–549, because it will supply the large bronze currency, the small coinage being represented by

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (ii) with head of Ticinus<br>A.D. 541 (or later)—549<br>X nummi? | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Ticinus (female personification of the city of Ticinum) r., wearing turreted head-dress and drapery. | DN<br>BADV<br>ILA<br>REX<br>within wreath. | |
| 37 | 46. | Æ .6 | FELIXTI CINVS[2] | [Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 7] | xi. 22 |
| | | | (iii) with head or name of Baduila only<br>A.D. 549-552<br>X nummi[3]<br>(Heavy coinage) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Baduila, beardless, facing, wearing embroidered robes and closed crown ornamented with ball at apex, and divided in front by vertical bars into two divisions. Border of dots. | DNB<br>ADV<br>ELA<br>REX<br>within wreath.[4] | |
| 38 | 114.3 | Æ .7 | DNBAD [VELA &c.?] | (ILA) | xi. 23 |

the pieces bearing the head of Anastasius (*supra*, pp. 89, 90). But it may be doubtful whether it was first issued in 541, i.e. from the very beginning of the reign of Baduila: the lettering of the *rev.* perhaps suggests a time nearer 549 (compare *rev.* of No. 37 with *rev.* of No. 38). Whatever, however, be the first date of issue, the latest date may be fixed to A.D. 549, when the full-face head of Baduila was introduced on his large bronze coinage (see No. 38).

[3] This series would, at first sight, appear to present two distinct denominations, one (No. 38) the double of the other (Nos. 39–43). On referring to the corresponding bronze coins struck by Baduila at Rome (*infra*, pp. 93, 94) we find similar weights, one set of coins being double the other. But at Rome *both* series of coins are marked X. Perhaps the best course is to regard all these coins (at Rome and Ticinum) as intended for 10-nummus pieces, representing both a heavy and a light issue of the denomination.

[4] A comparison with the bronze coins of Rome (*infra*, p. 93) suggests that the issue of these pieces began in A.D. 549, the probable date of the Roman coins. With regard

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (Light coinage) | | |
| 39 | 62·7 | Æ ·65 | DNBAdV ELAREX | (ILA) | |
| 40 | 65·7 | Æ ·65 | DNBADV ELAREX Star in each division of crown[1] [Northwick sale, 1860] | (D̄N̄) (ELA ?) between REX and wreath, X[2] | xi. 24 |
| 41 | 71·6 | Æ ·7 | DNBAD (rest off flan) star in each division of crown. | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought at Webster sale, Sotheby's, 1886] | xi. 25 |
| 42 | 67·6 | Æ ·7 | .NBADA. (rest obscure) star in each division of crown. | (Circular ornament in upper part of wreath) [de Salis gift] | xi. 26 |
| 43 | 58·6 | Æ ·65 | DN[BADV] ELAREX Star in each division of crown. | [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-23] | xi. 27 |
| | | | Small Bronze<br>A. D. 549–552 | | |
| | | | D N (no type) | within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; above monogram, small cross. | xi. 28 |
| | | | Æ. Size, ·3 inch; weight, about 12 grains. Berlin Museum; described, Friedlaender, *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 51, No. 11, Pl. II. 11.<br>The monogram on the *rev.* would suggest that this coin belongs to class (i), *supra*, | | |

to their place of mintage, it is difficult, for reasons of style and fabric, to avoid the suspicion that they were struck at Rome. I have, however, assigned them to Ticinum on the following grounds: (1) It is more likely that these coins, being a regal issue (on the general model of the older Ostrogothic coins of the Ravenna mint) would be struck at the royal capital—at that time Ticinum—than at Rome, where the coinage was primarily a *civic* concern. (2) The letters of the reverse inscription closely resemble those found on the *rev.* of No. 37, a coin which, on account of its *obv.* consisting of a personification of Ticinum, it is reasonable to suppose was struck at Ticinum itself. (3) The Roman style of these coins may be sufficiently accounted for by the employment at Ticinum of some skilful workman from the Roman mint.

[1] Compare the crown of Theodahad, Pl. IX. 13–18.

[2] The X, originally the binding of the wreath, is here detached, as if a mark of value.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | pp. 89, 90, but it is without the head of Anastasius. Equally, it lacks the head of Baduila, but the omission of the emperor's head indicates that the coin belongs to the time of Baduila's numismatic autonomy, and we may, therefore, assign it to the last period of his reign, 549–552. It supplies a small denomination to accompany the 10-nummus piece, Nos. 38–43. | | |
| | | | ROME<br>Bronze<br>A. D. 549–552<br>(with head of Baduila)<br>X nummi?<br>(Heavy coinage) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Baduila, beardless, facing, wearing embroidered robes and crown ornamented with ball at apex, and divided in front by vertical bars into two divisions. Border of dots. | Inscr. Baduila standing r., holding in r. spear, in l. oval shield; wears helmet, cuirass, and paludamentum. In field r., X. Border of dots.[1] | |
| 44 | 121.4 | Æ .8 | DNBΛDV ELΛREX (partly obscure) | [FLOREA?] [ƧƧ]EMP ER Pellet in centre of shield. [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-8] | xi. 29 |
| 45 | 116.5 | Æ .75 | Ends [E]LΛREX | FLVR[EΛ?] ƧƧEMPE R | xi. 30 |

[1] Nos. 44–9. *Types.* The *obv.* portrait-bust may have been partly suggested by the portrait-bust found on the Roman bronze coins of Theodahad (see Pl. IX. 13), and is represented with a similar closed crown (but without the stars?). That the bust is full-face, and not in profile, is probably due to the portrait on the Imperial coins of Justinian which, since the year 538, had usually shown the emperor's bust full-face (see especially the Roman bronze coins of Justinian, Pl. XVI. 6–10). The *rev.* type is borrowed from the Roman coins of Athalaric (see Pl. VIII. 21–5), but the disappearance of the letters S. C. is noteworthy. The significance of the inscr. *Floreas semper* is not quite obvious. The most natural interpretation of the words is probably as a wish for the prosperity of Rome, though on the present coin the head of *Invicta Roma* which appeared on the coin of Athalaric (Pl. VIII. 22) is omitted. Still, however, the coins would be generally recognized as emanating from the mint of Rome. The other alternative is to treat the words as an acclamation for the long life of the king. (Cp. coins of the Constantine period,

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 46 | 113·7 | Æ ·85 | [DN]BΛDV [EL]ΛREX | [FLV?]REΛ [S?]SEM [PER] [de Salis gift] | |
| | | | (Light coinage) | | |
| 47 | 69·6 | Æ ·65 | DNBΛDV [ELΛREX] (without ball on crown) | ...REΛ SSEM[P] [Northwick sale, 1860] | xii. 1 |
| 48 | 66·2 | Æ ·7 | DNBΛDV ELΛREX (partly obscure) (without ball on crown) | FLOREΛS SEMPER | xii. 2 |
| 49 | 54·2 | Æ ·65 | DNBΛD VELΛ[R]EX (without ball on crown?) | FLOREΛS ..... | xii. 3 |
| | | | Small Bronze | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Baduila, beardless, facing, wearing crown and robes. Border of dots. | Lion advancing r., within wreath.[1] | |
| 50 | 15·6 | Æ ·35 | Ends ΛDVE | Above, ✱ (border of dots instead of wreath) [Purchased, 1864, 7-19-32] | xii. 4 |
| 51 | 18·5 | Æ ·35 | [DNB] VΓL (=VEL) | [de Salis gift] | xii. 5 |
| 52 | 15·2 | Æ ·4 | DNB [Λ]DVELΛ | [de Salis gift] | xii. 6 |

*Constantine Caes. Vivas; Herculi Caes. Vincas*; Maurice, *Num. Constantinienne*, i, p. 347. Cp. also Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i, p. 99 n.; *Vita* on coins of Justin II.)

*Denomination.* Nos. 44–6 seem to represent a value that is double that of Nos. 47–9; thus, the 20-nummus and the 10-nummus. But it will be observed that *all* these coins are marked X; therefore (unless we are to assume that Baduila's engraver mechanically copied the X from the coins of Athalaric regardless of its changed meaning) we are almost bound to believe that all these specimens were intended to pass current as pieces of *ten* nummi, though issued both of a heavy and of a light weight (cp. the bronze coins of Ticinum, *supra*, Nos. 38–43).

*Date.* Baduila first came into possession of Rome on 17 Dec., 546, but the city (which had been practically deserted) was soon given up, and it is in the highest degree unlikely that he issued money at that time. But in 549 Baduila, after a siege, again recovered Rome, and he now recalled the exiled senators, began to rebuild the city, and was himself present at games held in the Circus Maximus. There can be little doubt that it was in this year that the issue of these coins was first undertaken.

[1] The coin is modelled on the small Roman bronze of Justinian, with the same *rev.* See Pl. XVI. 9, 10.

# THEIA

JULY OR AUG. 552–553

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | TICINUM<br>Tremissis | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Anastasius I r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass; on head, pellet in crescent. | Inscr. Victory to front, moving r., looking l.; in r., wreath; in l., globus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., CONO | |
| 1 | 23. | AV .6 | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC (without pellet and crescent).<br>[Bought of an Italian coin-dealer, 1869] | VICTORIAAVCVST ORVM (CONOI) | xii. 7 |
| 2 | 22.2 | AV .55 | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC | VICTORIAAVCVCT ORIV<br>[de Salis gift] | xii. 8 |
| 3 | 22.1 | AV .65 (*base*) | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC<br>[Royal coll.] | VICTORIAAVCVST ORVII (pellet after CONO) | xii. 9 |
| 4 | 22.2 | AV .65 | DNANAS TASIVSP PA | VICTORIAAVCVST ORVII<br>[de Salis gift] | xii. 10 |
| 5 | 22. | AV .6 | DNANASTA SIVSP PAVC | VICTORIAAVCVST ORVN<br>[de Salis gift] | xii. 11 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | 22·7 | *AV* ·6 | DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC | VICTORIAAVCVITO RW [de Salis gift] | xii. 12 |
| 7 | 21·2 | *AV* ·65 | DNANAST ASIVSP PAVC (on head, cross). | VICTORIAAVCVST ORVI (COИO) [de Salis gift] | xii. 13 |
| 8 | 21· | *AV* ·6 | DNANSTA SIVSΓA[1] (on head, star ?). | VICTORIAAVCVST OVI (COIIC) [de Salis gift] | xii. 14 |
| | | | Half Siliqua | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Anastasius I r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. | Inscr. within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X | |
| 9 | 20·8 | *AR* ·6 | DNANASTA SIVSP PA [de Salis gift] | DN THE IA REX | xii. 15 |
| 10 | 17·6 | *AR* ·55 | DNANAST ASIVSA V[Ç?] On head, crescent [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | DN THEI[2] AREX | xii. 16 |
| 11 | 20· | *AR* ·55 | DNANASTA SIVSA VC On head, crescent. [Blacas coll., 1867] | DN THIL[3] AREX | xii. 17 |
| 12 | 22·2 | *AR* ·5 | DNANAS TASIVSP AC On head, pellet in crescent. [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-16] | DOM NVSTH EIAP REX[4] | xii. 18 |

[1] The head is treated very much as on Nos. 11, 12, *infra*.

[2] Either a badly formed I, or L.

[3] THILA occurs on a coin in the Rossi catalogue (Rome, 1880), p. 251, and on a silver coin described in Friedlaender, *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 53, No. 3.

[4] *Name of Theia.* Procopius calls this king Teias. On the coins his name appears as THEIA, TEIA, THELA (Paris: Friedlaender, *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 53), and THILA.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Quarter Siliqua** | | |
| 13 | 9·5 | *Æ* ·55 | DNANASTA SIVSP PA Bust of Anastasius I r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass; on head, pellet and crescent. Border of dots. | DN THE IA REX within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament. | xii. 19 |
| | | | [de Salis gift][1] | | |

The form THEIA may be judged to be the official spelling of the mint, more especially as it occurs on No. 12 in an inscr. on which some extra thought appears to have been expended (i.e. DN is expanded to *Dom(i)nus*, and a unique title, P—presumably *Pius*—is added). The variety TEIA is very rare, apparently occurring only on a coin in the Strogonoff collection, described by Sabatier (i, p. 209, No. 2). With regard to THELA and THILA, I would suggest the probability that they are engravers' blunders, a ising thus:—a badly formed I in THEIA (cp. our No. 10) would give rise to THE A or THELA. Of THELA, THILA would be an easy variant, either I being deliberately written for E (a common interchange), or an E with the projecting limbs faintly represented (as is sometimes the case) being mistaken for I.

*Attribution.* Dr. H. Bradley, in his interesting account of *The Goths* (London, 1888), suggested (chap. 28, p. 311) that these coins may have been issued by Thelane, the and titular colleague of Odovacar. But this view must be negatived, because (1) we do not know that Thelane was also called Theia, and this series of 'Thela' and 'Theia' coins clearly emanated from a single issuer; (2) these coins belong to the continuous series of Ostrogothic silver coins, and, by style and fabric, take their place in it as the latest, not the earliest, issues; (3) it is not improbable that 'Thela' is an engraver's blunder, and does not reproduce any actual name.

[1] The silver (or bronze ?) coin with *rev.* monogram, described by Sabatier (i, p. 210, No. 6), after Lagoy, is ascribed to Theia on no sure grounds, as Friedlaender (*M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 52) has already pointed out. So far as is known, Theia issued no coinage in bronze.

# QUASI-AUTONOMOUS BRONZE COINS OF ROME AND RAVENNA

We have here (Pl. XII–XIV), as has been generally admitted, coinages struck at Rome and Ravenna. Of these, the Roman series is the more extensive and important, and may be first discussed.

**ROME.** The types of these Roman coins, and the entire absence from them of the regal or Imperial name, suggest that they were issued on some special occasion or in accordance with the grant of special privileges. Such a coinage may have taken place at any period when the Ostrogoths were masters of the Imperial City, or, on the other hand, in the period, under Justinian, when Rome had been won back for the Empire. But although the hypothesis of the Imperial origin of these coins is not at first sight an unlikely one, it is seen to be hardly tenable when we take into consideration the bronze coins (Pl. XV, XVI. 1–10) which Justinian issued for his newly-regained city. Of these there are at least two distinct issues, each bearing a portrait of the emperor and a large **M**, the familiar Byzantine mark of value (40 nummia), and it is extremely hard to find a place for a third Imperial coinage of Rome—and that, moreover, a coinage entirely anonymous and with the mark of value in *Roman* numerals (**XL**).

The coins, then, may be best regarded as issues made while Rome was *Ostrogothic.* I am not aware of any quite decisive data for fixing the exact period of coining, but an accumulation of evidence of various kinds will be found to lead us in the direction of Theodoric rather than that of the latest Ostrogothic rulers. At the outset, one king—Theodahad—may certainly be rejected as a claimant, because we know that the large bronze money which he caused to be issued in Rome bore his own name and—what was an innovation—his own portrait (Pl. IX. 13). For a nearly similar reason, one of Theodahad's successors, Baduila, may be excluded. Theia, the last king, had no authority at Rome; and in the reign of Witigis Rome was mainly in the hands of the Imperialists, and its coins may be expected to bear the stamp of Justinian.

There remain only Theodoric and Athalaric his successor. Athalaric is known to have struck at Rome small bronze coins, '**X** nummi,' with his own name (Pl. VIII. 21–5), and these, it must be noted, bear the head of *Invicta Roma*, the head that figures on the obverse of the large quasi-autonomous bronze coins now in question (Pl. XIII, XIV). Athalaric, therefore, may seem to have some claim, but still more, perhaps, Theodoric, who is not otherwise represented by any bronze coins at the Roman mint.

The whole of this *Invicta Roma* coinage, with its thick flans and bold types, contrasts in a rather remarkable way with the ordinary coins of the Ostrogothic series, but it becomes less strange when we study its genesis. Now, among the issues of the Roman mint that immediately precede the Ostrogothic issues are thick bronze pieces bearing the head of Zeno (*circ.*

A.D. 474: Pl. XII. 20–3). Evidently it was from this source that our coins derived their peculiar fabric, their prominent border of dots, their mark of value XL, and one of their types, the Victory: even their obverse type, the bust of Invicta Roma, was probably suggested by the legend *Invicta Roma* found on the prototype coins.

The 'Invicta Roma' coins are mainly of three classes:—

(i) With *rev.* Victory (Pl. XIII. 1).

(ii) With *rev.* Eagle (Pl. XIII. 2–8; also *rev.* Two Eagles and Tree, Pl. XIII. 9–11).

(iii) With *rev.* Wolf and Twins (Pl. XIV. 1–7).

I suggest that this coinage first began in the time of Theodoric, under whom life and government in the city of Rome went on without any violent changes; and that the first type struck was No. (i) with the Victory reverse, a type which was modelled on the nearly similar reverse of the Roman bronze coins bearing the name of the Emperor Zeno (Pl. XII. 20–3), which were probably struck by the Senate (SC) during the reign of Odovacar and which would be in circulation at least till Zeno's death in 491, and perhaps until the accession of Theodoric in 493.

Coins of this 'Victory' type are now very rare: perhaps the borrowed design was soon displaced by a more distinctively Roman emblem—the Eagle (ii) or the Wolf and Twins (iii). As this coinage displays three (or, rather, four) types, it is probable that it extended over a considerable period. Thus, it may have constituted the large bronze coinage of Rome under Athalaric as well as under his predecessor, Theodoric.[1]

Type i, the Victory-reverse, will naturally be assigned to Theodoric, as imitated from the 'Victory' coins with Zeno's head (Pl. XII. 20–3). Type ii (the Eagle) might also be assigned to him, and type iii (Wolf and Twins) to Athalaric; but seeing that the precedence of type ii over type iii is not completely certain, the safest course will be to group types ii and iii together as Roman coins 'of the time of Theodoric and Athalaric'.

Athalaric's successor, Theodahad, struck at Rome large bronze coins with his own head upon them (Pl. IX. 13–18).[2] In the troubled times that followed his deposition (A.D. 536) the bronze currency of Rome consisted chiefly of the portrait-coins of Baduila and (as will be seen *infra*, 'Coins with Imperial names', p. 108) of Justinian.

RAVENNA. These are small pieces of ten nummi, all having on the *obv.* the bust of FELIX RAVENNA. There are three reverse types:—

(i) Victory (p. 106).

(ii) Eagle (Pl. XIV. 8).

(iii) Monogram of Ravenna in wreath (Pl. XIV. 10).

[1] For the smaller bronze coinage of Rome, Athalaric himself provided by allowing the Senate to strike pieces of X nummi with the bust of Invicta Roma on the *obv.* and his own name on the *rev.* (Pl. VIII. 21).

[2] But the Romans may even, for a time (and previous to the issue of the portrait-coins of Theodahad), have continued to mint the *Invicta Roma* bronze: compare the bust of Invicta Roma on some of the Ravenna bronze of Theodahad (Pl. IX. 12) with the bust on some of the 'Invicta Roma' (Theodoric and Athalaric) coins (Pl. XIV. 7, &c.).

As Ravenna was the capital and residence of Odovacar and of the Ostrogothic kings, and finally the residence of the Imperial representative, it is not easy to point to a period when it is likely to have issued these quasi-autonomous coins. Such coins (as we have just seen) were, indeed, in use at Rome, but Rome always enjoyed a semi-independence: it was still in possession of its ancient Senate (who apparently controlled the local coinage), and it was never—in our period—the capital or permanent residence of king or emperor. In point of style these coins, perhaps, most resemble the bronze coins of Athalaric,[1] and the best course may be to assign them to him and to Theodoric.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | ROME<br>XL nummi<br>(with head of Zeno)<br>*Probably struck in the time of Odovacar*, A. D. 477–491 | | |
| | | | Inscr. (reading outwards from front of neck). Bust of the Emperor Zeno r., bearded, laureate. Border. | IMVICT Λ ROMΛ Victory in girdled chiton advancing r.; in r., wreath; in l., trophy resting on her shoulder; in field, S C (*Senatus consulto*); in ex., •XL• Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 211·1 | Æ 1·05 | [I]MPZENOFELI[CIS SI?]NOSENΛVC[2]; beneath head ....[3] | [Northwick sale, 1860] | xii. 20 |

[1] Notice the wreath, which is of the same style as the wreath on coins of Athalaric. The *obv.* type is, moreover, found joined to a *rev.* with the monogram of Athalaric on a bronze coin which Friedlaender (*M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 35, Pl. I. 11) repeats from the original description by Pinci, though this description may require verification. A coin of Baduila (Pl. XI. 22) displays a bust of FELIX TICINVS, but this coin is of coarser (and, no doubt, later) style than the FELIX RAVENNA coins.

[2] The *obv.* inscriptions on these coins are hard to read, but there seems to be no good authority (as M. Sambon has remarked to me) for reading on any of the coins of this class the names of Zeno and Leo in conjunction, and the legend given by Sabatier (i, p. 141, No. 21), viz. ZENO ET LEO CAES NOV. CAES, is probably misread. N, in NO, is written for M; SEN = SEM(*per*).

[3] In the Catal. of the Mus. Naz. di Napoli, ii, specimens (Nos.15,202–4) are described as reading IIII beneath the head; but on our examples letters seem to be represented.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 213·6 | Æ 1·1 | .....CISSIMOS ENAVC; beneath head, IIOI? | [Townley coll.] | xii. 21 |
| 3 | 251·4 | Æ 1·15 | INPZENOFE..... ....NAVC; beneath head, I. I. | [Northwick sale, 1860] | |
| 4 | 306· | Æ 1·15 | IIIPZENOFEL.....N .SEIIAVC; beneath head, ..I. | [de Salis gift] | xii. 22 |
| 5 | 283·6 | Æ 1·1 | IMPZENOSEMPERA VC (inscr. beginning behind head) (bust draped)[1] | | xii. 23 |

## XL nummi

*Probably struck in the time of Theodoric, circ.* A.D. 493

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| IИVICT A ROMA Bust of Roma r., wearing helmet, earring, necklace, and drapery; hair long. Border of dots. | Victory in girdled chiton standing r. on prow; in r., wreath; in l., palm-branch resting on her shoulder; in front, lighted altar, beneath which, II; behind, J/X Border of dots. | |

Æ. Size, 1·05. Berlin Museum. (Figured in Friedlaender, *M. d. Vandalen*, Pl. II, p. 68; cp. Sabatier, i, p. 211, No. 6, Pl. XIX. 29; *Rev. num.*, 1858, p. 200, Pl. X. 7.) — xiii. 1

This coin may be placed next after the coins with the head of Zeno (Nos. 1–5, *supra*) because it has a similar reverse-type (Victory). II on the *rev.* is perhaps the mark of the officina.

As to the legend INVICTA ROMA, see note, *supra*, p. 57.

[1] The inscription and bust show signs of having been touched by a modern graver's tool; the coin is, however, antique, and this *obv.* legend is found on other coins, e.g. Thomsen, *Catal.*, p. 4, No. 58; Windisch-Grätz coll., vi, p. 6, No. 50; cp. Sabatier, i, p. 140, No. 16.

87500

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **XL and XX nummi** | | |
| | | | *Probably struck in the reigns of Theodoric and Athalaric, circ.* A.D. 494 (?)–534 | | |
| | | | (*a*) First Series | | |
| | | | **XL** | | |
| | | | (with *rev.* Eagle)[1] | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Roma r., wearing crested helmet, pendent earring, necklace, and drapery; hair long. Border of dots. | Eagle with wings spread, standing l., looking back; in field l., $\frac{J}{X}$. Border of dots. | |
| 6 | 215·8 | Æ 1·1 | I[N]VIC TAROMA | Exergue plain. [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-451] | xiii. 2 |
| 7 | 143·5 | Æ ·95 | INVIC TAROMA [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | $\left(\frac{X}{J}\right)^2$ Exergue plain. | xiii. 3 |
| 8 | 177·2 | Æ 1· | INVIC TAROMA | In ex., •A•[3] [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-9] | |
| 9 | 156·5 | Æ 1· | IMVICT AROMA | In ex., •A• [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-598] | xiii. 4 |
| 10 | 157·3 | Æ 1· | IMVIT AROMA | In ex., •A• [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-452] | |

[1] This series may be placed immediately after the coin with *rev.* Victory, described on p. 101, because the mark of value XL is, as on that piece, placed *beside* the type and in the form $\frac{J}{X}$. (The XL on Nos. 24 f., *infra*, *rev.* Wolf and Twins, is differently arranged.) The eagle, if imitated from a coin (as need not necessarily be the case), may have been suggested by the eagle on the (Italian) coins of Zeno; see Sabatier, Pl. VIII. 3, 4, 5.

[2] This is an exceptional arrangement of the mark of value.

[3] This and other similar numerals in the exergue may be best explained as officina-marks; they run from 1 to 5.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | 128· | Æ ·9 | IMVICT AROMA | In ex., •II• [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-455] | |
| 12 | 152·2 | Æ ·95 | IMVICT AROMA | In ex., •Γ• [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-453] | |
| 13 | 130·3 | Æ 1·1 | IMVICT AROMA | In ex., •Γ• [Purchased, 1835] | xiii. 5 |
| 14 | 174·7 | Æ 1· | INVICT AROMA | In ex., •Δ• [Purchased, 1893, 10-7-39] | xiii. 6 |
| 15 | 135·2 | Æ ·95 | IMVICT AROMA | In ex., •Є• [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-10] | xiii. 7 |
| 16 | 139·8 | Æ 1·05 | IMVICT AROMA | In ex., •Э• [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-454] | |
| 17 | 183· | Æ ·95 | IMVIC TAROMA | In ex., •[Э]•[1] | |
| 18 | 174·2 | Æ 1·05 | INVIC TAROMA | In ex., •Є• [de Salis gift] | xiii. 8 |
| | | | XX (with *rev.* Tree and two Eagles) | | |
| | | | IMVICT AROMA Bust of Roma r., wearing crested helmet, necklace, and drapery; hair long. Border of dots. | Fig-tree, beneath which, on each side, eagle with head turned back; in ex., •XX• Border of dots.[2] | |
| 19 | 167·4 | Æ ·95 | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought of an Italian coin-dealer] | | xiii. 9 |

[1] Only the top of the numeral is visible, the rest being off the flan.

[2] The eagles on the *rev.* connect these coins with Nos. 6–18, *supra* (*rev.* Eagle), which are of the denomination XL.

No explanation of the *rev.* type has been offered except by Eckhel (*Doct. num. vet.*, viii, p. 216; cp. Friedlaender, *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 57), who suggested that the two eagles symbolized Rome and New Rome (Constantinople), but this explanation takes no account of the tree. As to the general meaning of the type, it is hardly doubtful that it refers in

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20 | 129· | Æ ·9 | (Ends MA) | [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-600] | xiii.10 |
| 21 | 116·2 (*worn*) | Æ ·85 | [de Salis gift] | | |
| 22 | 115·3 | Æ ·85 | (IMVICT A ROMA) | [Baron Kolb coll.,1847] | |
| 23 | 82·5 | Æ ·85 | (IMVICT A ROMA) | [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-599] | xiii.11 |
| | | | (β) Second Series<br>XL<br>(with *rev.* Wolf and Twins) | | |
| | | | IMVICT AROMA Bust of Roma r., wearing crested helmet, pendent earring, necklace, and drapery; hair long. Border of dots. | Wolf l., with head turned r., suckling the Twins, Romulus and Remus; above, XL. Border of dots.[1] | |
| 24 | 189·8 | Æ ·95 | (A ; A) | In ex., •[II]•[2] | xiv. 1 |
| 25 | 221· | Æ 1·05 | [Purchased, 1835] | In ex., •III• | xiv. 2 |

some way to the ancient glories or legendary history of the Eternal City, because the *obv.* type is *Invicta Roma*, and other coins of the same class represent the Roman eagle (p. 102) and the wolf and twins (p. 104). The tree is almost certainly a fig-tree, and it is natural to identify it with the *ficus ruminalis* beneath which Romulus and Remus were suckled by the wolf. A well-known denarius (second century B.C.) of Sextus Pompeius Fostulus (Grueber, B. M. C., *Rom. Coins*, i, p. 131) shows the wolf suckling the twins, and the shepherd Faustulus surveying the scene: in the background is the fig-tree with three birds perched on its branches (one variety of our coins, Nos. 19–23, is stated in the Thomsen *Cat.*, p. 80, No. 978, to show a bird on the tree; so also Sabatier, i, Pl. XIX. 28, p. 211, No. 5).

If the tree of our coins is the *ficus ruminalis*, the substitution of the eagles for the twins is of course remarkable; and the only comment I am able to make is that the Ostrogothic type seems, at any rate, to have been derived from a much older original. A small bronze coin of Scepsis in the Troad (Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, i, p. 46, No. 5, Pl. II. 6), which—from its *obv.* type, a Capricorn—is probably of the time of Augustus, shows on the *rev.* a gnarled fig-tree, near the trunk of which stands an eagle with head turned back towards it, a type identical, except for the absence of the second eagle, with the Ostrogothic type. Unfortunately, the interpretation of the Scepsian reverse is, itself, doubtful, though it is probably of Imperial and not of local significance.

[1] There are no very strong reasons for placing these later than the XL coins described as the 'First Series', *supra*, p. 102: the position of the mark of value seems, however, to indicate that their place is here and not earlier (see p. 102, note 1).

[2] Apparently II, as on Friedlaender, *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 58, No. 1, and Thomsen, *Cat.*, p. 80, No. 972.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26 | 234·2 | Æ 1·05 | (Inscr. partly obscure) | In ex., •IIII• [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-456] | |
| 27 | 233·2 | Æ 1·05 | (Λ ROMΛ) | In ex., •IIIII• [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-457] | |
| 28 | 224·6 | Æ 1·15 | | In ex., •V• | |
| 29 | 236·6 | Æ 1·05 | (IMVIC TAROMA) | (Exergue worn) | xiv. 3 |
| | | | XX | | |
| | | | IMVIC TΛROMΛ Bust of Roma r., wearing crested helmet, pendent earring, necklace, and drapery; hair long. Border of dots. | Wolf l., with head turned r., suckling the Twins, Romulus and Remus; above, two stars[1]; in ex., •X•X• Border of dots. | |
| 30 | 118· (*broken*) | Æ ·95 | | Between the stars, I? | xiv. 4 |
| 31 | 111· | Æ ·85 | [de Salis gift] | Between the stars, I | xiv. 5 |
| 32 | 126·2 | Æ ·8 | (INVIC &c.) [de Salis gift] | Between the stars, ☧ | xiv. 6 |
| 33 | 100· | Æ ·8 | [Royal coll.] | Between the stars, ☧ (in ex., XX) | xiv. 7 |

[1] The two stars are not ornaments or mint-symbols, but part of the type, as may be seen on comparison with the representation of the Wolf and Twins on the medallions of Constantine the Great (Froehner, *Méd. de l'emp. rom.*, pp. 287, 288 (*obv.* bust of *Vrbs Roma*); Grueber, *Cat. Rom. Medallions*, p. 86, Nos. 6 and 7).

The group is a reproduction of an older representation, such as that found on the medallions of Constantine (just referred to); on the denarius of Fostulus (second century B.C.; cp. p. 104, *supra*); and on Romano-Campanian coins of the late fourth century and early third century B.C. (cp. figures in *Klio*, 1909, p. 34). On the group see further E. Petersen's 'Lupa Capitolina', in *Klio*, 1908, pp. 440 f., and 1909, pp. 29 f. It may be added that the festival of the Lupercalia was still celebrated at Rome at the beginning of the reign of Theodoric (Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 321; Gregorovius, *Hist. of City of Rome*, bk. ii, chap. 1, vol. i, p. 269, Eng. trans.).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | RAVENNA | | |
| | | | X nummi[1] | | |
| | | | 1. With *rev.* Victory | | |
| | | | *Time of Theodoric?* | | |
| | | | FELIXR AVENNA Bust of Ravenna r., wearing mural crown, earring, necklace, and drapery. Border of dots. | R V Victory advancing l.; in r., wreath; in l., palm-branch. Border of dots. | |
| | | | Æ. Size, ·65 inch. | | |
| | | | This coin is described and figured by Friedlaender, *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 60, No. 3, Pl. III. 3, but only on the authority of Ramus and Pinci. | | |
| | | | 2. With *rev.* Eagle | | |
| | | | *Time of Theodoric?* | | |
| | | | FELIXR AVENNA Bust of Ravenna r., wearing mural crown, earring, necklace, and drapery. Border of dots. | Eagle, between two stars, standing on branch to front, looking l.; beneath, X. Border of dots.[2] | |
| 34 | 60· | Æ ·7 | [Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 7] | | xiv. 8 |
| 35 | 38·8 | Æ ·65 | | | xiv. 9 |

[1] As to the date of these coins see p. 100, *supra*.

[2] With the eagle type cp. No. 6, p. 102, *supra*. It is no doubt the eagle of Rome. Two stars are seen above the Wolf and Twins on No. 30, p. 105, *supra*.

FELIX RAVENNA. Compare the inscr. *Felix Carta.* on Vandal coins of Carthage (*supra*, p. 13) and the *Felix Ticinus* on the coins of Baduila (*supra*, p. 91). *Felix Roma* does not occur on Ostrogothic coins (*invicta Roma* perhaps taking its place), but is found on monuments of the time, as on the tiles of Theodoric and of Athalaric: *reg(nante) domino) n(ostro) Theoderico, felix Roma* (see Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages*, bk. ii, chap. 2, pp. 315, 316, Eng. trans.; Cabrol, *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*, s. v. brique, p. 1322 and p. 1326). The legends FLAVIA LVCA, FLAVIA TICINO, &c., on Lombard coins may also be recalled in this connexion (see 'Introduction', *supra*, § 3, on legends of Lombard coins).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 3. With *rev.* Monogram of Ravenna | | |
| | | | *Time of Athalaric?* | | |
| | | | FELIXR AVENNA Bust of Ravenna r., wearing mural crown, earring, necklace, and drapery. Border of dots. | within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X.[1] Border of dots. | |
| 36 | 48·1 | Æ ·7 | (Ends NA) | | xiv.10 |
| 37 | 46·5 | Æ ·6 | [R. Payne Knight bequest, 1824; *Nummi veteres*, p. 304, No. 2] | | |
| 38 | 49·6 | Æ ·65 | [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | | xiv.11 |
| 39 | 46·6 | Æ ·65 | [de Salis gift] | | xiv.12 |
| 40 | 52·2 | Æ ·65 | | Above monogram, + | xiv.13 |
| | | | 4. With *obv. Invicta Roma* | | |
| | | | *Time of Athalaric?* | | |
| | | | INVICTA ROMA Bust of Roma r., wearing helmet and drapery. | within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X. | |
| | | | Æ. Size, ·6 inch. | | |
| | | | This coin is engraved and described by Friedlaender, *M. d. Ostgothen*, p. 60, No. 4, Pl. III. 4, but only on the authority of Pinci, *De Nummis Raven.* | | |

[1] On Nos. 36, 37 the X is boldly represented and almost separated from the wreath, as if clearly to denote the denomination of the coin (as on Nos. 34, 35). On Nos. 38–40 the X is smaller, and has more distinctly the appearance of being the tie of the wreath.

# IMPERIAL COINS OF JUSTINIAN I

struck at

ROME AND RAVENNA

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | ROME | | |
| | | | *Period I.* Dec. 536–538 [1] | | |
| | | | M (40 nummi) | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ANVSPP AVC Bust of Justinian r., beardless; hair short, but arranged in fringe in front; wears diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum. Border of dots. | M above, +; in ex., ROMA; whole in wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X. | |
| 1 | 311·4 | Æ 1·1 | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | (Λ for A); beneath M, Ā; on l., +; on r., + | xv. 1 |
| 2 | 287·5 | Æ 1·15 | (Λ for A) | (Λ for A); beneath M, Ā; on l., +; on r., + | xv. 2 |
| 3 | 207·2 | Æ 1· | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-84] | (Λ? for A); beneath M, Ā; on l., ✱; on r., ✱ | xv. 3 |
| 4 | 248·6 | Æ ·95 | (Beginning doubtful; ends AV) [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-241] | (Λ for A); beneath M, Ā; on l., ✱; on r., + [2] | xv. 4 |

[1] On the date of the Imperial coins of Justinian I struck at Rome and Ravenna see 'Introduction', *supra*, § 2, under 'Coins with Imperial Names'. All the Roman coins of Period I show the head in profile; those of Period II have the bust facing, except on the tremissis, where, by the convention of Byzantine coins, it is in profile.

[2] Nos. 1–4 are of thick fabric. Nos. 5–14 are of thinner fabric and inferior workmanship: they are without the officina-mark (Ā).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 154·8 | Æ ·95 | (DИIVSTI[N ?]I ΛN VSPPΛV) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-85] | (ROM); on l., +; on r., ✱ | xv. 5 |
| 6 | 138· | Æ 1·05 | (DИIVSTINI ΛNVSP PΛV) [de Salis gift] | (Λ for A); on l., +; on r., ✱ | |
| 7 | 163·8 | Æ 1·2 | (N for И; ends PPV ΛC) | On l., +; on r., ✳ [Townley coll.] | xv. 6 |
| 8 | 146·1 | Æ 1·2 | (N for И; ends PPV AC) | On l. ✱; on r., + [Townley coll.] | xv. 7 |
| 9 | 170·5 | Æ 1·15 | (Ends ΛNVSPPAV) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-83] | On l., ✱; on r., + | |
| 10 | 152·2 | Æ 1·15 | (DNIVSTINI ANVS &c. [Royal coll.] | (Λ for A); on l., ✱; on r., + | |
| 11 | 144·8 | Æ 1·05 | (DNIVSTIN IANVSP PAVC) [Townley coll.] | (Λ for A); on l., ✱; on r., + (circular ornament absent) | |
| 12 | 126· | Æ 1·05 | (DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVC) [Townley coll.] | On l., ✱; on r., + | |
| 13 | 152·7 | Æ 1·15 | (Type double-struck) [Townley coll.] | On l., [✱ ?]; on r., + | |
| 14 | 161·6 | Æ 1·15 | (DNIVSTI NIΛNVSP PA) [Townley coll.] | On l., ✱; on r., + (upper part of wreath has ⊗; lower part, ✳) | xv. 8 |
| | | | K (20 nummi) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian I r., as on No. 1. Border of dots. | K• in wreath; in upper part of which, ⊕; in lower part, X | |
| 15 | 102·8 | Æ ·85 | DИIVSTIИI ΛNVSP PAV [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-271] | On l., +; on r., ✱ | xv. 9 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | 115·5 | Æ ·9 | DИIΛSTIИI ΛNVSP PAV [Doubleday purchase, 1849] | On l., ✚; on r., ✱ | xv. 10 |
| 17 | 134·5 | Æ ·85 | DИIVSTIИI ΛNVSP PΛV [Blacas coll., 1867] | On l., ✚; on r., ✱ | |
| 18 | 117·4 | Æ ·85 | DИIΛƧTIИI [ΛNVSP PΛV ?] [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-270] | On l., ✱; on r., ✚ | xv. 11 |
| 19 | 128·5 | Æ ·8 | DИIVᔕTI NIANVᔕ PP [Townley coll.] | On l., ✱; on r., ✚ | xv. 12 |
| 20 | 97·5 | Æ ·85 | DИIVST INIΛNVSP | On l., ✱; on r., ✚ (without •) (wreath without ornaments) | |
| 21 | 113·8 | Æ ·8 | DNIVᔕ TINIΛN[S?] [Townley coll.] | On l., ✱; on r., ✚ (without •) | |
| 22 | 85·5 | Æ ·9 | DNIVSTIN IANVSPP [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-269] | On l., ✱; on r., ✚ (without •) (upper part of wreath has ⊗; lower part, ✕[1] | xv. 13 |
| 23 | 82·2 | Æ ·9 | DИIVST TINIΛNV [Townley coll.] | On l., ✱; on r., ✚ (without •) (wreath without ornaments) | xv. 14 |
| | | | I (10 nummi) | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ΛNVSP PΛ Bust of Justinian I r., as on No. 1. (Border obscure) | I between ✱ and ✱; all in wreath. | |
| 24 | 43·1 | Æ ·65 | [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-284] | Below, within wreath, AMOЯ (*Roma*: AM in ligature). | xv. 15 |
| 25 | 64·1 | Æ ·65 | (End of inscr. obscure) [de Salis gift] | (Mark of value smaller than on No. 24) | xv. 16 |

[1] Cp. the wreath on No. 14. This coin has been washed or plated with silver.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Period II.* 538–549 | | |
| | | | Solidus[1] | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ΛNVSP PΛVC Bust of Justinian I, beardless, full-face; wears helmet with plume, and cuirass; in r., globus cruciger; l. (not represented) holds shield, on which, horseman device. | VICTOR I ΛΛVCCC Victory wearing chiton and peplos, standing facing; in r., long cross; in l., globus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., CONOB | |
| 26 | 68·3 | *AV* ·85 | (Ends ΛVC) [Dr. Nott's sale, 1842] | (Pellet after last C) | xvi. 1 |
| 27 | 68·3 | *AV* ·85 | (Ends ΛVC) | (A for Λ) [Bank of England gift, 1877] | xvi. 2 |
| 28 | 68·5 | *AV* ·85 | [Lord Elgin] | At end of inscr., Λ | xvi. 3 |
| | | *AV* ·8 | (Ends AVC) | (RI) at end of inscr., A (ROMOB instead of CONOB) | xvi. 4 |
| | | | (In the Berlin Museum: cp. *Zeit. f. Num.*, i, p. 303.) | | |
| | | | Tremissis | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ΛNVSP PΛVC Bust of Justinian I r., beardless, wearing jewelled diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. | VICTORIAAVCVST ORVM Victory in girdled chiton moving r. on globus, looking l.; in r., wreath; in l., globus cruciger; in ex., ROMOB[2] | |
| 29 | 23· | *AV* ·65 | [de Salis gift] | | xvi. 5 |

[1] The attribution of Nos. 26–8 to Rome is not determined by any decisive evidence, but seems probable, seeing that the coins cannot so well be attributed to Constantinople or to any other mint. No. 26 appears to me to be of Italian style and fabric, and its provenance—the collection of Dr. Nott—to some extent bears this out: the lettering on the *obv.* is small and close. Nos. 27, 28 are of much the same style as No. 26.

[2] Of neat work: with ROMOB compare the preceding solidus (Pl. XVI. 4) in the Berlin Museum. The tremissis with the supposed monogram of Roma (*obv.* head of Justinian, *rev.* Victory r.), assigned to the Roman mint by Pinder and Friedlaender, *Münzen Justinians*, p. 24, Pl. III. 5, is evidently Visigothic.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | M | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAV Bust of Justinian I, beardless, facing, wearing helmet with plume, cuirass, and paludamentum; in r., globus cruciger. | R O M M A above, +; beneath, ✱; whole in wreath. | |
| 30 | 200·1 | Æ 1·15 | | [Maximilian Borrell, 1850] | xvi. 6 |
| | | | | I | |
| | | | DNIVSTINIA NVSP AVC Bust of Justinian I, beardless, facing, wearing helmet with plume, cuirass, and paludamentum; in r., globus cruciger; l. (not represented) holds shield ornamented with horseman device. Border of dots. | I between ✱ and ✱; whole in wreath; in upper part of which, circular ornament. | |
| 31 | 86·7 | Æ ·65 | [Purchased, 1835][1] | | xvi. 7 |
| 32 | 96·3 | Æ ·75 | [de Salis gift] | | |
| 33 | 76·2 | Æ ·65 | | | |
| 34 | 79·8 | Æ ·65 | (DNIVSTINI ANVSP AVC) | | xvi. 8 |

[1] A very fine specimen of this coin, stated to have been found in Rome, was shown at the British Museum in March, 1910.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Small Bronze** | | |
| | | | IVSTIN IANVS Bust of Justinian I, facing, as on No. 31. Border of dots. | Lion advancing r., within wreath.[1] | |
| 35 | 15·6 | Æ ·4 | [Purchased, 1864, 7-19-30] | | xvi. 9 |
| 36 | 17·7 | Æ ·4 | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-156] | | xvi.10 |
| | | | *Period III. Circ.* A.D. 552/3 | | |
| | | | XX | | |
| | | | See a coin of this denomination described in Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, vol. i, p. 70, No. 402. | | |
| | | | RAVENNA | | |
| | | | *Circ.* A.D. 555–565[2] | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ANVSPP AVC Bust of Justinian, beardless, facing; wears helmet with plume, cuirass, and paludamentum; in r., globus cruciger; l. holds shield with horseman device. | VICTORI AAVCCC Victory in chiton and peplos standing facing; in r., cross (with P); in l., globus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., CO NOB | |
| 37 | 66·8 | Æ ·75 | (AVC) [de Salis gift] | At end of inscr., Λ (CONOH) | |

[1] A specimen occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard (Friedlaender, *M. d. Vandalen*, p. 43): see also Pinder and Friedlaender, *Münzen Justinians*, p. 54. The lion type was borrowed by Baduila: see *supra*, p. 94, No. 50.

[2] As to the date of these coins see 'Introduction', *supra*, § 2, 'Coins with Imperial Names,' Gold, Justinian I.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 38 | 68. | *AV* .85 | (Ends ANVSPPAVC) | At end of inscr., Γ [Blacas coll., 1867] | xvi. 11 |
| 39 | 68.3 | *AV* .85 | [de Salis gift] | At end of inscr., Γ (CONOP) | xvi. 12 |
| 40 | 67.2 | *AV* .85 | (TININI) [Purchased, 1865, 8-10-14] | (R I) At end of inscr., S | |
| 41 | 53. | *AV* .75 | (PF for PP) | (R I) at end of inscr., S; pellet after CO NOB | |
| | | | **Semissis** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVC Bust of Justinian I r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent and pellet, cuirass, and paludamentum. | VICTORIAAVCCC Victory wearing mantle over lower limbs seated r. on shield and cuirass; on her knees she supports a shield on which with her r. hand she inscribes numerals (rudely represented); in front, P; behind, star; in ex., CONOB | |
| 42 | 34.1 | *AV* .7 | | (B formed like D) | xvi. 13 |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVC Bust of Justinian I r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent and pellet, cuirass, and paludamentum. | VICTORIAAVCVSTO RVM Victory moving r., looking l., holding in r., wreath; in l., globus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., CONOB | |
| 43 | 22.7 | *AV* .6 | [de Salis gift] | (Λ for A) | xvi. 14 |
| 44 | 22. | *AV* .65 | [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-26] | (CONOR) | |
| 45 | 22.7 | *AV* .65 | [de Salis gift] | (Ends RVH) | xvi. 15 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 46 | 21·2 | Æ ·6 | [de Salis gift] | (VICTORIAAVCVST ORVH) | |
| 47 | 22·7 | Æ ·55 | [de Salis gift] | (VICTORIAAVCVST ORVII) | xvi. 16 |
| 48 | 22·5 | Æ ·6 | [Bank of England gift, 1877] | (Ends RVN) | |
| 49 | 21·5 | Æ ·65 | [de Salis gift] | (Ends RVN) (B formed nearly like H) | |
| | | | Silver[1] | | |
| | | | CN (250) | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVC Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent and pellet, cuirass, and paludamentum. Border of dots. | C•N within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X | |
| 50 | 21·6 | Æ ·55 | | [Purchased, 1906, 11-4-1] | xvii. 1 |
| 51 | 16·3 | Æ ·55 | [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-111] | (N has ornamented base) | xvii. 2 |
| 52 | 21·9 | Æ ·55 | (Ends AV) | [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-114] | xvii. 3 |
| 53 | 16·3 | Æ ·5 | (Crescent and pellet wanting) | Beneath CN, X[2] [Purchased, 1868, 5-14-128] | xvii. 4 |
| 54 | 15·2 | Æ ·55 | (Crescent and pellet wanting) | (CN•), beneath CN, X [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-48] | xvii. 5 |
| 55 | 20·3 | Æ ·55 | (Ends ANVSIAVC) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-49] | (Without pellet) above CN, + | xvii. 6 |

[1] See Babelon, *Traité*, i, p. 579, and 'Introduction,' *supra*, § 2, 'Denominations.'
[2] This is, strangely enough, in addition to the X which forms the tie of the wreath.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 56 | 21·8 | Æ ·6 | | Above CN, star[1] | xvii. 7 |
| 57 | 15·8 | Æ ·5 | (DNIVSTIN IANVSP Ps letters partly confused) | (Without pellet) beneath CN, star | xvii. 8 |
| 58 | 13·8 | Æ ·5 | (Ends AV) [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-113] | (Without pellet) beneath CN, star | |
| | | | PKE (125) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | PKE within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X | |
| 59 | 11·3 | Æ ·45 | DNIVSTI NIANVS [AV?] | Above numerals, + [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-53] | xvii. 9 |
| 60 | 9·7 | Æ ·45 | UNIVS[TIN IA]NVS PIAC [de Salis gift] | Above numerals, star[2] | xvii. 10 |
| 61 | 8·3 | Æ ·4 | DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAV [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-52] | (Limbs of K short) beneath numerals, star (without ornaments in wreath) | xvii. 11 |
| 62 | 8·6 | Æ ·4 | DNIVSTI NIANVS [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-122] | Beneath numerals, scroll-ornament[3] | xvii. 12 |
| | | | PK (120) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent and pellet, and cuirass. Border of dots. | P • K within wreath | |

[1] The symbol has rather the appearance of a leaf, but is probably a rudely-formed star; cp. No. 60, *infra*.
[2] Probably a misformed star rather than a leaf; cp. No. 56, *supra*.
[3] Cp. No. 51, *supra*.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 63 | 10·2 | Æ ·45 | DNIVSTI NIANAVC | | xvii. 13 |
| 64 | 10·4 | Æ ·45 | DNIVSTI NIANVSP. | [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-115] | xvii. 14 |
| 65 | 10·2 | Æ ·45 | [DN]IVSTINI ANVS P... | (PK•) | |
| | | | *Rev.* ✝ | | |
| | | | DNIVSTI NIANVS AVC Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent and pellet, and cuirass. Border of dots. | ✝ within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X | |
| 66 | 16·2 | Æ ·5 | [Royal coll.] | | xvii. 15 |
| 67 | 15·4 | Æ ·55 | [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-13] | | xvii. 16 |
| 68 | 16·7 | Æ ·5 | [D]NIVSTIN IANV SIC | [de Salis gift] | xvii. 17 |
| | | | *Rev.* ⁂ | | |
| | | | DNIVSTI NIANAVC Bust of Justinian r., as on No. 66. Border of dots. | ⁂ within wreath. | |
| 69 | 22·1 | Æ ·55 | | [de Salis gift][1] | xvii. 18 |
| 70 | 21·9 | Æ ·55 | [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-110] | | xvii. 19 |
| 71 | 17· | Æ ·55 | (DNIVS.... ANSAV C) | [de Salis gift] | xvii. 20 |

[1] The monogram on the *rev.* is in high relief, like the numerals PK on No. 63, *supra*.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | *Rev.* ✠ | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVC Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent and pellet, and cuirass. Border of dots. | ✠ with step at base, beneath the globus; all within wreath, with circular ornament and X | |
| 72 | 11·6 | Æ ·55 | [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-116] | | xvii. 21 |
| 73 | 11· | Æ ·5 | [Sale at Sotheby's, 20 Dec., 1852, lot 376] | | |
| 74 | 12· | Æ ·5 | (DNIVSTI NIANV SIC) [de Salis gift] | (Circular ornament wanting) | xvii. 22 |
| 75 | 10·4 | Æ ·5 | (DNIVSTI NIANVSI) [Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 587] | (Circular ornament wanting) | |
| | | | | *Rev.* ✠ | |
| | | | DNIVS[TI NI]ANAV C Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. | ✠ within wreath, in lower part of which, X | |
| 76 | 7·7 | Æ ·45 | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-54] | | xvii. 23 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | **IO nummi** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVC Bust of Justinian, beardless, facing, wearing cuirass and paludamentum; holding in r. globus cruciger; l. (not represented) holds shield with horseman device. | ✠ within wreath. | |
| 77 | 49·3 | Æ ·65 | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-145][1] | | xvii. 24 |
| | | | For other Imperial bronze coins of Ravenna, of denominations M and I, see Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i, pp. 70, 71. | | |

[1] Another specimen was published by Baron d'Ailly (in *Rev. num.*, vii (1842), p. 19, Pl. II. 4), who suggested its attribution to Rome. But the treatment of the bust, when compared with the solidi of Ravenna (*supra*, p. 113, Nos. 37–41, Pl. XVI. 11, 12; notice especially the rendering of the eyes), seems to me to indicate Ravenna. The denomination I (10 nummi) may, as d'Ailly has pointed out, be indicated in the *rev.* type.

# IMPERIAL COINS OF JUSTIN II

struck at

RAVENNA

A. D. 565–578

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Gold** | | |
| | | | See Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i, pp. 103, 104 | | |
| | | | **Silver**[1] | | |
| | | | **CN** (250) | | |
| | | | DNIVSTI NVSPPAV C Bust of Justin II r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent and pellet, and cuirass. Border of dots. | CN within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X | |
| 1 | 10·6 | Æ ·45 | | In field r., + | xvii. 25 |
| 2 | 8·2 | Æ ·45 | (Ends AV) [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | Beneath, * | xvii. 26 |
| 3 | 11·4 | Æ ·5 | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | | xvii. 27 |
| 4 | 10·4 | Æ ·45 | [Purchased, 1868, 5-14-129] | | |
| 5 | 11·4 | Æ ·5 | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-37] | | |
| 6 | 11· | Æ ·45 | (Ends AV) | [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-123] | |

[1] As to the attribution of these coins see 'Introduction', *supra*, § 2, 'Coins with Imperial Names,' Silver, 'Justinus.'

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **PKE (125)** | | |
| | | | DNIVSTIN IVS(*sic*)P PAVC Bust of Justin II r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | PKE within wreath. | |
| 7 | 11· | Æ ·45 | [de Salis gift] | Beneath K, ✱[1] | xvii. 28 |
| | | | | *Rev.* ✱ | |
| | | | DNIVSTI NVSPPAV C Bust of Justin II r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent and pellet, and cuirass. Border of dots. | ✱ within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X | |
| 8 | 11· | Æ ·45 | (I for C) | [de Salis gift] | xvii. 29 |
| 9 | 10·7 | Æ ·45 | | | |
| 10 | 11·2 | Æ ·55 | (A) | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-38] | xvii. 30 |
| 11 | 11·2 | Æ ·5 | (Ends AVI) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-42] | (Base of cross varied) | xvii. 31 |
| 12 | 11·3 | Æ ·45 | (Ends NVSPI ?) (type and lettering rough) | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-39] | xvii. 32 |
| | | | | *Rev.* ✝ | |
| | | | DNIVSTI NVSPPAV C Bust of Justin II r., as on No. 8. Border of dots. | ✝ within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X | |
| 13 | 6· | Æ ·35 | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-43] | | xvii. 33 |

[1] The leaves of the wreath are not compressed as on the other Ravenna coins, and the treatment of the *obv.* bust is somewhat peculiar; but it is difficult to suggest any other mint.

# IMPERIAL COINS OF TIBERIUS II

Mints of

ROME and RAVENNA

See Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, pp. 123–4

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# IMPERIAL COINS OF MAURICE TIBERIUS

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | ROME<br>Tremissis | | |
| | | | DNTIbEMA VRICPP AVI Bust of Maurice Tiberius r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Raised border. | VICTORIAAVCVSTO RVM Victory in chiton advancing to front, looking l.; in r., wreath; in l., globus cruciger; in ex., CO NOB | |
| 1 | 22·8 | *AV* ·6 | [Rev. R. Mylne, 1909] | In field r., star.[1] | xvii. 34 |
| | | | RAVENNA<br>See Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, pp. 154 f. (Solidus, tremissis, &c.) | | |

[1] This coin is of neat work, rather recalling the Roman tremissis of Justinian I described *supra*, p. 111, Pl. XVI. 5.

# III.

# COINS OF THE LOMBARD KINGS

*Circ.* A.D. 568–584

Reigns of

## ALBOIN

568—spring 572

## CLEPH

spring 572–574

## INTERREGNUM

574–584

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** (with name of Justin II, 565–578) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justin II r., beardless, wearing diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum. Annular border in high relief. | Inscr. Victory advancing to front, looking l.; in r., wreath; in l., globus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., CONOB. Annular border in high relief.[1] | |
| 1 | 23·2 | *AV* ·65 | DNIVSTI NVSPPAVI Before the head a leaf-like incision, perhaps accidental. | VICTORIAAVCVSTO RVN [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1869, 7-9-63] | xviii. 1 |

[1] Nos. 1 and 2 differ but little from the Imperial tremisses struck at Ravenna (B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, i, p. 104, Nos. 291–3, Pl. XIII. 16), but are perhaps best explained as Lombardic imitations.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 23· | Æ ·7 | DNIVSTI NVSPPAV [de Salis gift] | VICTORIAA IVDVS TRVN (CONOH) | xviii. 2 |
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | (i) with name of Justinian I, 527–565[1] | | |
| | | | CN (250) | | |
| | | | DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVD Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent, cuirass, and paludamentum. Border of dots. | CN within wreath. | |
| 3 | 15·8 | Æ ·55 | | [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-112] | xviii. 3 |
| | | | | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X | |
| 4 | 11· | Æ ·55 | D•••VSTIIII ASIAV C pellet in crescent on diadem (linear border) | (X obscure) [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-120] | xviii. 4 |
| 5 | 10·7 | Æ ·5 | DNIVSTI [NIAN]VS PPA | (Bar of cross, forked instead of potent) [de Salis gift] | xviii. 5 |
| 6 | 10·2 | Æ ·45 | DNIVSTII (rest obscure) | (Bar forked) [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-119] | xviii. 6 |
| 7 | 9·2 | Æ ·5 | DNIVSTII ANVSPP N | (Bar forked) [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-118] | xviii. 7 |

[1] Cp. the Imperial coins of Justinian struck at Ravenna, *supra*, p. 115.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | 10·4 | Æ ·5 | DNIVSTINI ΛNVSP P/V | [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-117] | xviii. 8 |
| | | |  | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Linear border. | within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, [X] | |
| 9 | 4·6 | Æ ·35 | DNIVSTIII Λ••ΛVC (no border) | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-44] | xviii. 9 |
| 10 | 5·8 | Æ ·35 | \NIVST ΛIVIVC | | xviii. 10 |
| 11 | 5·6 | Æ ·45 | DIIVIIΛI (rest obscure) | [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-121] | xviii. 11 |
| | | |  | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian[1] r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X | |
| 12 | 5·5 | Æ ·4 | (•IIVSTI?) IVIΓΓIIC on head, cross. | [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-125] | xviii. 12 |
| 13 | 5·4 | Æ ·4 | DNIVST SPP/VC? (partly obscure) | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-51] | xviii. 13 |

[1] The legend of these coins is blundered and abbreviated, and it would suit Justin II as well as Justinian, but an attribution to Justinian may be preferred because this *rev.* type is found on the Ravenna coins of Justinian (which are, however, of larger module) and because the style of the *obv.* is somewhat better than in the case of the imitative coins of Justin II, described *infra*, Nos. 14 f.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (ii) with name of Justin II, 565–578[1] | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justin II r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | ✠ within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X | |
| 14 | 11·4 | Æ ·5 | DNIVSTI NVSPPA (linear border) | (X omitted) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-41] | xviii. 14 |
| 15 | 11·7 | Æ ·5 | OIIVST NVSPPAII | (Bar instead of globe at foot of cross) (circular ornament omitted) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-40] | xviii. 15 |
| 16 | 10·7 | Æ ·45 | ONIVSTI NVSPPAII | (Cross pattée; base varied) [de Salis gift] | xviii. 16 |
| 17 | 10·3 | Æ ·45 | DNIVSTI NVSPPAI | (Type as on No. 16) [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; purchased in Rome] | xviii. 17 |
| 18 | 11·6 | Æ ·5 | ИИѠ VIDNI (type rude) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-45] | (Type as on No. 16, but ruder; base varied; ornaments in wreath omitted) | xviii. 18 |
| 19 | 6·7 | Æ ·45 | ..... NVSPPA (partly obscure) (no border) | (Type as on No. 16) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-10] | xviii. 19 |

[1] Cp. the Æ of Justin II struck at Ravenna, *supra*, p. 121.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (iii) with types of Tiberius II Constantine, 578–582[1] | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Tiberius II r., wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | Cross potent on two steps, within wreath. | |
| 20 | 4·8 | Æ ·4 | Inscr. obscure, VNИI PPΛV? | [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-129] | xviii. 20 |
| 21 | 6·1 | Æ ·45 | Inscr. obscure, VИИS COP? | [de Salis gift] | xviii. 21 |

[1] Compare the silver coin struck at Ravenna by Tiberius II in B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, i, p. 124, No. 161, Pl. XVI. 18. There is a similar Ravenna type of Maurice Tiberius, op. cit., No. 281.

*Circ.* A. D. 584–615

Reigns of

## AUTHARI

April (?) 584—5 Sept. 590

and

## AGILULF

Nov. 590—615

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** with name of Maurice Tiberius, 582–602[1] | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Maurice Tiberius r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Annular border in high relief. | Inscr. Victory advancing to front, looking l.; in r., wreath; in l., globus cruciger; in field r., cross; in ex., CONOB, blundered. Border as on *obv.* | |
| 22 | 21·9 | *AV* ·65 | DNMAVR CTIbPPVI [de Salis gift] | VICTORIAAVIVITO RVN (C ONOR) | xviii. 22 |
| 23 | 20· | *AV* ·65 | DNMAVR CTIbPPVI [de Salis gift] | VICTORIAAVIVITO RVU (CONOA) | |
| 24 | 23· | *AV* ·65 | DNMAVR CTbPPVI [de Salis gift] | VNTOVRIAAVIVI TORVN (CONOR) | |
| 25 | 22·3 | *AV* ·75 | DNMAVR CTbPPVI [de Salis gift] | VICTORIAAVIVITO RV (CONOR) | xviii. 23 |

[1] Compare the tremissis struck at Ravenna by Maurice Tiberius, B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, i, pp. 155, 156. On the Ravenna coins the Emperor's eye on the *obv.* is represented less clumsily, and in the field of the *rev.* is a star instead of a cross.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26 | 21·1 | Æ ·75 (*base*) | .NMAVR CTdPPV (letters carelessly formed) | VIITORIAAVIVITO RV (COIIOR) [de Salis gift] | xviii. 24 |
| 27 | 12·2 | Æ ·65 (*base*?) | DNMVI (Ib?)PPVI (without border) [Purchased, 1864, 7-16-31] | VIIIIOTVIVITO (IO NOIR) (type very rude) | xviii. 25 |
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | with name of Maurice Tiberius, 582–602 | | |
| | | | **CN** (250) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Maurice Tiberius r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. | C N within wreath. | |
| 28 | 16· (*chipped*) | Æ ·5 | DNMA VRCTIPA [de Salis gift] | Between the numerals, •; above N, star.[1] | xviii. 26 |
| 29 | 12·2 | Æ ·55 | DNTIbERM AVRIC (partly obscure) | [de Salis gift] | xviii. 27 |
| 30 | 4·5 | Æ ·35 | Ends MARIAI? | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-50] | xviii. 28 |
| | | | **PKE** (125) | | |
| | | | Name and bust of Maurice Tiberius r. | PKE within wreath; above K, star. | |
| | | | Æ, ·45 inch. Hirsch's Sale Catalogue (No. xxiv) of E. F. Weber's coll., München, 1909, Pl. LIX, No. 3102. | | |

[1] A similar specimen in Hirsch's Sale Catalogue (No. xxiv) of Consul E. F. Weber's coll., München, 1909, Pl. LIX, No. 3101.

*Circ.* A.D. 615–652

## ADALWALD

615–624?

## ARIWALD

624–636

## ROTHARI[1]

636–652

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis**[2] with name of Heraclius, 610–641 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Heraclius r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Annular border in high relief. | Inscr. Cross potent. Border as on *obv.* | |
| 31 | 23·2 | *Æ* ·6 | ONHIRACL PERP'A VI; on head, cross. | VIITORIAAVCVSTO RVN; in ex., IOHOO (= CONOB) [de Salis gift] | xviii. 29 |

[1] Brambilla (*Tremisse di Rotari*, Pavia, 1887) has read on a tremissis in the Brescia Museum the name ROTHARY, but Engel and Serrure (*Traité*, i, p. 31) agree with M. Prou in considering this to be only a blundered imitation of the legend on an Imperial coin. Moreover, one side of this tremissis bears the name of a moneyer, and moneyers' names are not otherwise known to occur on Lombard coinage.

More recently, V. Dessi (*Rivista ital. di num.*, 1908, p. 298) declares the coin to be of Rothari, speaking from an examination of a photograph of it, which, however, he has not published. The coin is in the Museo Civico of Brescia, is of very thin fabric, and weighs 1,380 grammes (i.e. over 21 grains):—

*Obv.* MARINVS MON . REX in monogram. Head r.

*Rev.* DN OTARI VIVTORIIV Victory holding long sceptre and cross. In ex., CONOI.

I yet strongly doubt whether this coin was intended to bear the name of Rothari. Compare another blundered tremissis in the Erba Sale Catalogue, Paris [1900], p. 51 lot 558.

In connexion with Rothari, several numismatists have already called attention to an enactment in the Lombard Laws (which he first reduced to writing) enforcing

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 32 | 22·6 | *AV* ·6 | DNHERACLI VSPPA VSI [de Salis gift] | VICTORIAAVSTOI II; in ex., CONOB | xviii. 30 |
| 33 | 22·5 | *AV* ·55 | HERACL VSPPAVC [de Salis gift] | VITORIAAVIVITOR V; in ex., IOИOИ | xviii. 31 |
| 34 | 22·7 | *AV* ·6 | DNHERACL IVSPPA VCCC [de Salis gift] | VICTORIAAVCVST ORVM; in ex., CON OB | xix. 1 |
| 35 | 22·5 | *AV* ·65 | DNHERACL IVSPPA VCCC (bust similar to No. 34) | VICTORIAAVCVST ORVI; in ex., CONOB [de Salis gift] | |
| 36 | 22·4 | *AV* ·55 | DHERA LIVSPPAV [de Salis gift] | VICTORIAAVIVSTO RVN; in ex., CONO | xix. 2 |
| 37 | 23·3 | *AV* ·55 | DИHIR[A]CLI? AƆII AVCC [de Salis gift] | VAIORIAAVVSTOIV N; in ex., IONOB | xix. 3 |
| 38 | 22· | *AV* ·65 | DNHIRA CIVIPAVC; on head, ⁘ [de Salis gift] | VIIONINVIVIIONV II; in ex., CONOD | xix. 4 |
| 39 | 22·6 | *AV* ·65 | CAИI•• AOVIИ [de Salis gift] | VIITORVAIIIOIRV И; in ex., IOИO | xix. 5 |

a penalty (the loss of a hand) on any one who struck gold money or stamped it without the king's command. This passage, though it proves that a gold currency was in common use at the time, does not necessarily imply (as has been asserted) that Rothari struck coins bearing his own name; nor, again, need we suppose that the Lombards first began to employ a gold coinage under Rothari, for his law may very well have been a re-enunciation of a much older enactment.

[2] The British Museum possesses three varieties of a rare semissis (weight, 34–5 grains) with the name and head of Heraclius. Its *rev.*, with inscr. VICTORIA AVCVSTORVN CONOB (or abbreviated), has the type of the Constantinople semissis of Heraclius (B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, Pl. XXIII. 13–15), viz. cross potent on globus, but the globus is represented like a wreath with a pellet in the centre. From their fabric these coins are undoubtedly Italian. I was formerly inclined from the style of their obverses to regard them as Lombardic, but I now think they may best be regarded as Imperial coins of the Ravenna mint, which otherwise (so far as I know) would not be provided with any coins of this type and denomination; it must be said, however, that the inscriptions on the coins are not free from blunders.

[3] PERP, as on the Ravenna tremissis of Heraclius, B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, No. 434.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 40 | 22.5 | Æ .55 | •ИIЧПΛCI OVSPPП V [Purchased, 1867, 12-24-3] | IΛИ•ΛTIMИΛTOИ ΛI; in ex., dOИOb | xix. 6 |
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | with monogram of Heraclius, 610–641 | | |
| | | | Bust of Heraclius r., wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. (Type rude) | ⊬ (monogram of Heraclius); above, cross; beneath, pellet.[1] Annular border. | |
| 41 | 4. | Æ .4 | In front, HΛ | [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-130] | xix. 7 |
| 42 | 3. | Æ .4 | (Type l.) [de Salis gift] | (Cross represented by pellets) | xix. 8 |
| 43 | 3.4 | Æ .4 | (Type l.) [de Salis gift] | (Cross represented by pellets) | |

[1] Compare the Ravenna silver coin of Heraclius in B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, i, p. 247, No. 450, Pl. XXIX. 21.

*Circ.* A.D. 652–671

## RODWALD

652

## ARIPERT I

653–661

## PERCTARIT and GODEPERT

661–662

## GRIMWALD

662–671[1]

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** with name of Constans II, 641–668 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Constans II r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Annular border. | Inscr. Cross potent. Annular border. | |
| 44 | 22· | *AV* ·55 | DNIOITA NTINVI [de Salis gift] | VICTIRIAAVIVITI; in ex., IONOA | xix. 9 |
| 45 | 22·8 | *AV* ·55 | [+?]STANCON TIN PSPC; above head, ⁘ | ICTORIAAVSJO; in ex., CONOB [de Salis gift] | xix.10 |
| 46 | 22·9 | *AV* ·65 | VATONV VATINS TI [de Salis gift] | ICTORIA AVSTOS; in ex., CONOB | xix.11 |
| 47 | 22·7 | *AV* ·6 | VITONIA VATINS VI [de Salis gift] | ITORIA IVSTO; in ex., CONOB | xix.12 |
| 48 | 22·4 | *AV* ·6 | ONИЯVIC ИVINP [de Salis gift] | VIOTIVIVINBOTV; in ex., ↄONOI | xix.13 |

[1] W. Boyne (*Annuaire de la Soc. franç. de num.*, x, p. 461) has proposed to assign to this king a rare tremissis of Lombardic fabric which bears both on the *obv.* and *rev.* a monogram which may be read as *Grimoaldus rex*: see Engel and Serrure, *Traité*, i, p. 32, Fig. 90, and Gariel, *Monnaies royales de France*, Part 2, Pl. IV, Nos. 84, 85, pp. 86, 87, where the monograms are read as those of Carloman and Charles the Great.

# PERCTARIT

son of Aripert I

Second reign, A. D. 672–688

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** with name of an emperor, blundered | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of an emperor r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass; above head, ✓ and ⟍ Linear or annular border. | Inscr. Cross potent. Annular border. | |
| 1 | 22· | *AV* ·45 | IVIIV VЦOV:; before head, B [Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | NIONVΛVHOI[1]; beneath, ΛNΛN | xix.14 |
| 2 | 21·2 | *AV* ·45 | IVIIV V::OVI; before head, B [de Salis gift] | Γ•OΠIΛΠIIO; beneath, ЦNЦII | xix.15 |
| 3 | 23· | *AV* ·45 | IVIIV VIИVI; before head, B | ΠIOHVΛVHOI; beneath, ΛИΛH [de Salis gift] | xix.16 |
| 4 | 22·2 | *AV* ·45 | IVHV IVOИVI; before head, B; behind, • | ΠIOHVΛVHO⅂; beneath, ΛИΛH [Woodhouse gift, 1866] | xix.17 |

[1] O (twice repeated) occurs in all these blundered series (Nos. 1–14). It is, doubtless, ultimately derived from the 'Victoria Augustorum' legend, but on these coins the letters are placed—evidently with decorative intention—so that one of them is always at the extremity of the horizontal bar of the cross.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 22·5 | Æ ·45 | IVHVΛ ΛVIHVII; before head, B [Royal coll.] | ΠIOHVΛVHOI; beneath, ЦΛNΛH | |
| 6 | 14· | El. ·45 | VΛV VII•IV; before head, B [Baron Kolb, 1847] | VOIΛIΛVOΛ; beneath, IΛVΛ | xix. 18 |
| 7 | 19·2 | El. ·45 | VΛVI VΛVΛ•; before head, B [Purchased, 1908, 7-7-4] | ΛIOVΛV:•VIO; beneath, ΛΛΛV | |
| 8 | 16·3 | El. ·45 | VΛV VΛIV; before head, B | VOVVVVVIO; beneath, ΛΛΛΛ [Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | xix. 19 |
| 9 | 18· | El. ·5 | VI \VIVI•; before head, star. [Purchased, 1908, 10-8-2] | IOVIVVIO; beneath, ΛΛVΛ | xix. 20 |
| 10 | 21·1 | El. ·5 | VI•VI• VIIOVΛ; before head, Ƨ (without ornaments above head) | IVOIVVIVIOI; beneath, ΛIIIΛ [de Salis gift] | xix. 21 |
| 11 | 19·7 | Æ ·5 | ИVΛIΛ VNOVΛ; before head, <; behind head, star (without ornaments above head) | IIIO[Π?]VΛVΠO; beneath, ΛNΛЦ [de Salis gift] | xix. 22 |
| 12 | 21·5 | Æ ·5 | INVNV VIONVI (without ornaments above head) | IIIONVIVNOI; beneath, ΛИΛN [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-12] | xix. 23 |
| 13 | 22· | Æ ·55 | •ИIVΛ •VΛOИI (without ornaments above head) | IIIOИVIVИOI; beneath, ΛNΛИ [de Salis gift] | xix. 24 |
| 14 | 22·1 | Æ ·5 | IVNVΛ VHOIV (without ornaments above head) | ΠIONVΛVNO; beneath, ΛИΛΠ [de Salis gift] | xix. 25 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | PAVIA? | | |
| | | | Type 1 | | |
| | | | ⁝Ꝗ℟ᵥ (i.e. Perctarit Rex) within circle (scyphate). | Traces of inscr. Bust of king r., in cuirass,[1] within incuse circle. | |
| 15 | 3·4 | Æ ·5 | [Baron Kolb, 1847] | | xix. 26 |
| | | | Type 2 | | |
| | | | ꝖЄ (in monogram) and ℟ᵪ,[2] represented as below. Whole within circle (scyphate). | Similar to *obv.*, but not always struck up; letters reversed, and in incuse. Whole within incuse circle. | |
| 16 | 2·6 | Æ ·45 | ⁝Є·℟ | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | xix. 27 |
| 17 | 2·3 | Æ ·45 | ⁝Ꝗ·Ꝗ· | [Baron Kolb, 1847] | xix. 28 |
| 18 | 3·3 | Æ ·55 | ⁝Є·Ꝗ· | [de Salis gift] | xix. 29 |
| 19 | 2·7 | Æ ·45 | Є·Ꝗ | [de Salis gift] | xix. 30 |

[1] Rudely represented and faintly struck, as on the specimens figured by Promis, *Monete dei Romani pontefici*, Turin, 1858, Pl. X; cp. p. 101.

[2] REX is thus written on the tremisses of Cuninepert and Aripert II described *infra*.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20 | 2·6 | Æ ·45 | | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | xix. 31 |
| 21 | 3·3 | Æ ·55 | | [J. G. Pfister, 1855[1]] | xix. 32 |

[1] I follow the usual attribution of these coins (see Thomsen, *Cat.*, p. 85; Gnecchi Sale *Cat.* (Hamburger, Frankfurt a. M.), 1902, p. 198; Brambilla, *Monete di Pavia*, pp. 39, 40: Keary, *Coinages of Western Europe*, p. 96, makes no reference to these pieces), but it must be admitted that they do not fit very well into this place in the Lombardic series. Perhaps, however, the issue of silver in this form was only a temporary experiment, and the peculiar bracteate-like fabric, with the broad annular border, may be accounted for as derived ultimately from the fabric of the gold coins of Ravenna. A writer in H. Grote's *Blätter f. Münzfreunde*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 804, has gone so far as to deny altogether that these are coins of the Lombard period and claims them as bracteates of about the time of Frederick II (thirteenth century), the letters of the inscr. being read as IPER, i.e. *Imperator*. But this view must almost certainly be rejected, if only for the reason that in the hoard of these coins that was discovered in 1833 at Biella in Piedmont (Promis, *Monete dei Romani pontefici*, Turin, 1858, pp. 101-3, Pl. X) there occurred several specimens of the gold tremissis of the Lombard king Liutprand (A.D. 712-744), whose coins can hardly have been so long hoarded as to form part of a deposit of the thirteenth century.

# CUNINCPERT

son of Perctarit

A. D. 688–700

(with his father, 680–688)

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | DNCVNI NCPER Bust of Cuninepert r., beardless, wearing diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum. | SCSMI HΛHIL St. Michael, winged and wearing long robes, standing l., holding in l. circular shield; in r., long cross.[1] Annular border in high relief. | |
| 1 | 21·7 | Æ ·75 | Before head, D; on shoulder, D? | [de Salis gift] | xx. 1 |
| 2 | 20·9 | Æ ·75 | (И for N; Є for E) before head, M[2] | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | xx. 2 |

[1] The head of the cross is formed by three pellets. ℟ = REX. SCS = SANCTUS (Michael).

[2] M also on a specimen in the Gnecchi Sale *Cat.* (Hamburger, Frankfurt a. M.), 1902, lot 3946. Keary (*Coinages of W. Europe*, p. 96) has read it as H. On tremisses of this type various letters are found in front of the head:—B (and D on the shoulder: Gnecchi, *Cat.*, No. 3948); D (and D ? on the shoulder: Brit. Mus.); M (Brit. Mus.; Gnecchi, *Cat.*, No. 3946); V (and D on the shoulder: Gnecchi, *Cat.*, No. 3947). We also find a *hand* placed before the head, but no letter on the shoulder: see the specimens described in Thomsen, *Catalogue*, No. 1034, and in the Gnecchi Sale *Catalogue*, No. 3949. These are probably mint-masters' marks, but it is doubtful whether they indicate the *names* of mints.

[According to Brambilla (*Monete di Pavia*, p. 28), citing Promis, there is a tremissis of Cuninepert with *rev.* Star and inscr. *Flavia Mediolano* (cp. the coins of Aistulf and of Desiderius described *infra*). But Dessi (*Rivista ital. di num.*, 1908, p. 301) seems to doubt the attribution of this type to Cuninepert, which, certainly, does not seem a probable one.]

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Dessi (*Rivista ital. di num.*, 1908, p. 308) has suggested that the *hand* was placed on the coins as a reminder to forgers of the penalty they would incur under the law of Rothari:—'Si quis sine iussione regis aurum figuraverit, aut monetam confixerit, manus eius incidatur.' But if this were the intention of the hand, we should expect it to be engraved on *all* the coins of Cuninepert, and not only on certain varieties whereon it seems to take the place of *letters*. (So also in the case of the tremisses of Liutprand described *infra*.) Moreover, an instance of such a warning to evil-doers is probably not to be found on ancient or early mediaeval coins, though in modern times we have such inscriptions as the *Has* [*litteras*] *nisi periturus mihi nemo adimat* on the edge of the crowns of Oliver Cromwell (a warning against the illegal clipping of the coin), and the inscription 'To Counterfeit is Death' on the paper-money of the early American Colonies (*circ.* A.D. 1771 and later).

## LIUTPERT

son of Cuninepert

A. D. 700 (eight months)

In the Gnecchi Sale *Catalogue* (Hamburger, Frankfurt a. M.), 1902, lot 3951, the following triens is attributed to this king, though with a note of interrogation :—

*Obv.* DN̄LVT VDHVX Bust of king r.
*Rev.* SCS AHILL St. Michael standing l. Cp. Marchant, *Lettres* (ed. 1851), p. 303, No. 3.

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According to Brambilla, *Monete di Pavia*, pp. 28, 29, citing Promis, there is a tremissis of Liutpert with *rev.* Star and inscr. *Flavia Mediolano.* But Dessi (*Rivista ital. di num.*, 1908, p. 301) seems to doubt the attribution of this type to Liutpert.

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## RAGINPERT

son of Godepert

A. D. 700

No coins have been attributed to this king.

# ARIPERT II

son of Raginpert

A. D. 701–712

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | DNA RIPERT Bust of Aripert II r., beardless, wearing diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum. | SCSMI HAHIL St. Michael, winged and wearing long robes, standing l., holding in l., circular shield; in r., long cross. Annular border in high relief. | |
| 1 | 20·4 | *AV* ·75 | Before head, M [1] | [de Salis gift] | XX. 3 |

[1] M also on a specimen in the Gnecchi Sale *Cat.* (Hamburger, Frankfurt a. M.), 1902, lot 3954. Keary (*Coinages of W. Europe*, p. 97) has read it as H. As on the tremisses of Cunincpert (p. 138, *supra*), a variety of letters appear:—C in front of head (Gnecchi, *Cat.*, No. 3952; cp. No. 3953); M in front of head (Brit. Mus.); M in front of head and M on bust (Gnecchi, *Cat.*, No. 3955); no letter before head, but M on bust (Gnecchi, *Cat.*, No. 3956); S in front of head (Berlin; figured in Dahn's *Urgesch. d. germ. u. rom. Völker*, iv, p. 243). A curious variety is described in Gnecchi, *Cat.*, No. 3956:—*obv.* DN ARI PERT REX Bust of king r.; M on bust. *Rev.* VIVIT NORVI VNTO RIAAI Victory facing, looking l.; in l., globus; beneath, COMOR. This coin possibly does not properly belong to the Lombard regal series; but from the character of the *rev.* (which is not Lombardic but based on an Imperial prototype) one would be inclined to assign it to Aripert I (A. D. 653–661) rather than to Aripert II. The following tremissis, described by Promis, *Monete di zecche italiane* (Turin, 1867), pp. 5 f., Pl. I. 1 (cp. Engel and Serrure, *Traité de num.*, i, p. 33; Brambilla, *Monete di Pavia*, p. 26) can hardly belong to the Lombard regal series, but is probably an issue of Central or Southern Italy (Beneventum?). The dux IFFO is otherwise unknown. *Obv.* ARIPER XCEL REX Bust of Aripert, bearded, facing, draped, holding globus cruciger. *Rev.* IFFO ÇLORIVSO DVX. Cross potent.

## ANSPRAND

A.D. 712 (three months). *Ob.* 13 JUNE, 712

A tremissis in the Vienna Museum has been assigned to Ansprand by Arneth (cp. Marchant, *Lettres*, ed. 1851, p. 303, No. 5, Pl. XXI. 10). It resembles the tremisses of Cuninepert, Aripert II, and Liutprand (with *rev.* St. Michael), but is described as reading ..... SPRANR on the *obv.* The coin, however, is of rude style, and this reading may be doubtful: in the engraving published in Marchant, *op. cit.*, the legend appears as SPPΛIR. From the style of the bust (with ↑ ornament) and the broad, spread flan, I suspect that it is in reality a coin of Liutprand (cp. our No. 3 of Liutprand described *infra*).

# LIUTPRAND

son of Ansprand

A. D. 712—JAN. 744

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Liutprand r., beardless, wearing diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum.[1] | Inscr. St. Michael, winged and wearing long robes, standing l., holding in l., circular shield; in r., long cross. Annular border in high relief. | |
| 1 | 18· | Æ ·9 | DNLIV TPRANR (?) partly obscure; before head, M[2] | •SCS IIIIL [de Salis gift] | xx. 4 |

[1] A leaden seal with the name of Liutprand, published by Schlumberger in *Rev. num.*, 1905, p. 356, is probably of Liutprand, Duke of Beneventum, A. D. 751–758, as suggested by Sambon in *Le Musée*, 1908 (Bull. Num.), p. 9.

[2] Here, as on the similar coins of Cunincpert and Aripert II, various letters, &c., occur:—

H [? M] before head (*Rivista ital.*, 1908, p. 303, No. 6).
L•• „ „ (Boyne Sale *Cat.*, 1896, ii, lot 145).
M „ „ (Brit. Mus., No. 1).
N „ „ (*Rivista ital.*, 1908, p. 304, No. 10).
И „ „ (Gnecchi, *Cat.*, 1902, No. 3960).
S „ „ ; on bust, ℞ (Brit. Mus., No. 2; Gnecchi, *op. cit.*, No. 3962).
S „ „ ; on bust, + (*Rivista ital.*, 1908, p. 304, No. 7).
S
Є „ „ ; on bust, Λ (*Rivista ital.*, 1908, p. 304, No. 11).
T „ „ ; on bust, Λ (Gnecchi, *Cat.*, No. 3958).
T „ „ (Brit. Mus., No. 3).
V „ „ (Boyne Sale *Cat.*, 1896, ii, lot 144; Thomsen, *Cat.*, lot 1035; *Rivista ital.*, 1908, p. 304, No. 8).
V „ „ ; L on bust (Gnecchi, *Cat.*, No. 3959).
*Hand* „ „ (Gnecchi, *Cat.*, No. 3961; *Rivista ital.*, 1908, p. 304, No. 13).
*Hand* „ „ ; on bust, C (*Rivista ital.*, 1908, p. 304, No. 12).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 18·6 | Æ ·95 | DNLVT PRI[P?] (inscr. and type blurred and confused); before head, S; on bust, ℞ | SCS IIIIIL (type blurred) [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1869, 7-9-66] | xx. 5 |
| 3 | 19·5 | Æ ·9 | DNLV TPRΛNR; before head, T | SCSM HΛHIL [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | xx. 6 |
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Constans II (Constantinus III) r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass.[1] Border of dots. | + ℞Đ (i.e. DN LI VTPRAND (or LIVDP RAND) REX) within wreath. | |
| 4 | 8·3 | Æ ·5 | DIICOI TΛNTI | [de Salis gift] | xx. 7 |
| 5 | 8·4 | Æ ·5 | DNIOI. ΛIIIIII[2] | [Campana sale, 1846, lot 1187] | xx. 8 |

[1] The bust was probably copied from the silver coins of Constans II, struck at Ravenna: see B. M. C., *Imperial Byz. Coins*, p. 310, Nos. 399 f., Pl. 35, Nos. 17, 18.

[2] Two specimens occurred in the Boyne Sale *Cat.*, 1896, ii, lot 140, but the reading DN LOITPRAND may be suspected. The assignment of coins of these types to Liutprand was suggested by de Salis, and there is no difficulty in reading the monogram as *Dn. Liudprand rex* (or *Liutprand*, if the X is made to do duty for T also). The attribution is not, however, without its difficulties: thus, it will be observed that the coins are totally different in fabric from the silver pieces that were apparently introduced by Perctarit (Pl. XIX. 26–32). Again, we should expect that the *obv.* would, at this period, bear the name of the Lombard king, and not the name of an emperor. Perhaps, however, the Lombards, having been in the habit of servilely copying the Imperial silver coins, without (except in the case of Perctarit) originating types of their own for the silver coinage, may have felt no repugnance in copying an Imperial *obv.* (Constans II, in this instance), being content to record the king's name on the *rev.*

# HILDEPRAND

nephew of Liutprand

Associated with Liutprand, 735—JAN. 744

Sole reign from JAN. 744, about six months.

No coins are known of this ruler.

# RATCHIS

brother of Aistulf

SEPT. 744–749

(Second reign, DEC. ? 756—MARCH, 757)

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | DMRA TCHIS Bust of Ratchis, bearded, facing, draped. On l. of head, Λ; on r. of head, T; on drapery, ΛVT HI and +R. | SCS IIIIIL St. Michael, winged and wearing long robes, standing l., holding in l., circular shield; in r., long cross; in field r., star. Annular border in high relief. | |

*M.* Weight, about 20 grains. Collection of HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ITALY. Described and figured by G. Ruggero in *Rivista ital. di num.*, 1908, p. 137.

The name of Ratchis has also been read in the monogram on the tremissis, p. 151, No. 3, Pl. XX. 15, but, as Keary (*Coinages of W. Europe*, p. 98, No. 1; cp. Engel and Serrure, *Traité*, p. 33) has remarked, 'without much probability.' To arrive at the true interpretation of this monogram we must compare it with the tremissis in Pl. XX. 16, p. 151, No. 4, which Keary was inclined to assign to 'Athalgis'. This comparison shows that the small R in No. 3, p. 151, is in all probability a mere moneyer's letter, for on No. 4 another letter (A) is seen; and, further, that the straggling stroke on No. 3 that looks like part of a large R is only part of N or V, as on No. 4. The monograms on the two coins may, indeed, be pronounced to be *identical*, at any rate in all essentials. Ruggero, writing in the *Rivista ital. di num.* for 1908 (p. 138), has suggested that this monogram should be read LVCA, an interpretation that can, I think, be readily accepted. Moreover, in type and legends, the reverses of both coins, especially No. 4, agree admirably with the *Flavia Luca* coins figured in Pl. XX. 13, 14, and described under 'Quasi-Autonomous Coins of Lucca', Nos. 1 and 2, p. 150.

# AISTULF

brother of Ratchis

JULY, 749—DEC. ? 756

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | Type 1 | | |
| | | | +DN AIꝩTVLF REX In centre, monogram composed of CRX; beneath, +. | SCS IIIIIL St. Michael, winged and wearing long robes, standing l.; in l., circular shield; in r., long cross. Annular border in high relief. | |
| | | | *Æ*. Size, ·8 inch. Gnecchi Sale *Cat.*, May, 1902 (Hamburger), p. 199, No. 3963, Pl. XXIX. 3963. | | |
| | | | A very similar specimen in the Museo Civico, Brescia, is described by Promis in his *Monete di zecche italiane* (Torino, 1867), p. 9, Pl. I. 3. Another variety, in the Gariel collection, is described by Gariel, *Monnaies royales de France*, part ii, p. 87, No. 86, Pl. IV. 86. | | |
| | | | Gariel (ii, p. 87) interprets the monogram on the *obv.* as that of Charles [Charlemagne] the son of Pepin, and supposes that the coin was struck in 754 to express 'la reconnaissance par Astaulfe de la suzeraineté du roi des Franks et d'une sorte de lieutenance du royaume langobard . . . établie par Pépin en faveur de son fils Charles'. Some doubt may be felt as to this interpretation, more especially as it implies 'un fait dont les historiens n'ont fait mention nulle part'. A simpler view would be to regard the coin as a purely Lombardic issue and to explain the CRX as 'Christianus rex', an expression that occurs in the formula of enactment of the Lombard laws:—'Ego in Dei nomine . . . excellentissimus Christianus et Catholicus Langobardorum rex.' | | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Type 2 | | |
| | | | D N A I S T V L F R E X Cross potent with limbs of equal length. Annular border in high relief. | + F L A V I A L V C A Star (or flower [1]) within circle. Whole in linear border. | |
| 1 | 17·4 | *Æ* ·65 | | [Collection of Miss Sarah Banks, presented, 1818] | xx. 9 |

[1] The type may be regarded either as a star of twelve rays, or as the corolla of a flower with its petals and stamens.—*Solidus.* Promis (*Monete di zecche italiane*, Torino, 1867, pp. 7 f., Pl. I. 2; cp. Engel and Serrure, *Traité de num.*, i, p. 34, Fig. 94; and cp. Marchant, *Lettres* (ed. 1851), p. 304, No. 7, Vienna coll.) describes the following solidus, which he ascribes to Aistulf: *Obv.* .... T Y L F R Bearded bust of the king, facing, holding globus cruciger. *Rev.* V I C T O R I A S A Cross potent, with mon. at its foot; in field r., Z; in ex., C O. Some doubt may possibly be felt as to whether this coin really bore the *name of* Aistulf; but, in any case, it may be doubted whether it belongs to the regal series of the Lombards. The *solidus* was a denomination that formed no part of their usual issues, and the types and thick fabric of this coin rather suggest Central or Southern Italy as the region of its mintage. Promis, indeed (p. 9), maintains that it was struck in Ravenna by Aistulf, subsequent to his occupation of that city in 751; but, in that case, we should expect the *flan* to reproduce the bracteate-like fabric that was characteristic of the Imperial solidi of Ravenna.

# DESIDERIUS

757—JUNE, 774

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Cross potent with limbs of equal length. Annular border. | Inscr. Star (or flower) within circle. Whole in linear border. | |
| 1 | 10·6 | El. ·65 | +DNDESIDERꝺ•Rꝺ | +FLAVIALVCA [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | xx. 10 |
| 2 | 17·2 | El. ·65 | D•NDESIDERꝺREX (type represented by dots instead of lines) | +FLAVIALVCA [Purchased, 1847, 6-19-100] | xx. 11 |
| 3 | 16·6 | El. ·65 | +DNDESIDER/VSRꝺ• (A pellet at each extremity of the cross). | +FLA•PLACENTIAG [de Salis gift][1] | xx. 12 |

[1] Besides these tremisses of Desiderius, bearing the names of Lucca and Placentia ('Flavia Placentia Augusta'), there are others known of the same type inscribed with the names of Milan ('Mediolano'), Pavia ('Ticino'), Castel Seprio ('Sibrio', 'Sebrio'), Treviso, Vicenza ('Vicentia'), and Vercelli ('Vircelli'). Specimens (now in the Museum of Coire) occurred in the Ilanz hoard referred to *infra*, p. 152, under 'Italian tremisses of Charlemagne'. Whether these tremisses all emanated from a central mint (Lucca or Pavia), or whether they were actually struck at the cities whose names they bear, is a question that can only be determined by a careful comparison of a large number of specimens.

# QUASI-AUTONOMOUS COINS OF LUCCA

Struck at some time after JUNE, A.D. 774[1]

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | **Type 1** | | |
| | | | +FLAVIALVCA Star (or flower) within circle. Whole in linear border. | •VIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIV Cross potent, with limbs of equal length. Annular border. | |
| 1 | 21· | El. ·65 | [Sp. Mostras, 1852] | | xx. 13 |
| 2 | 20·8 | El. ·65 | (+FLAVIVCL(I ?)V) [de Salis gift] | (•VIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIV) | xx. 14 |

[1] Nos. 1 and 2 resemble the tremisses of Aistulf and Desiderius, but as they are not inscribed with the name of any Lombard ruler, and bear a meaningless legend on the *rev.*, the presumption is that they were issued *after* the fall of Desiderius, the last of the Lombard kings. Nos. 3 and 4, judged by their metal, fabric, and *rev.* type and legends, are clearly Lombard coins of about the same period as Nos. 1 and 2. The monograms that they bear almost certainly indicate the name of Lucca, though they have been sometimes interpreted as the names of Ratchis and Athalgis (see *supra*, p. 146, under 'Ratchis'). It is not easy to fix the precise date when these pieces (Nos. 1–4) were issued. The Lombard kingdom was overthrown in June, 774, when Charlemagne became master of Pavia and captured Desiderius, and the obvious view would be to regard these coins as issues made in the latter part of 774, or a little later. But it must be borne in mind that there exist similar 'star' (or 'flower') tremisses of Lucca which bear the name of Charlemagne (*infra*, p. 152, 'Italian tremisses of Charlemagne'). It is a question, then, whether our Nos. 1–4 preceded the Carolingian issues, or whether they were minted at some later period when the Carolingian gold coins had ceased to be current. I do not attempt to settle this point, but it may be remarked that specimens of our Nos. 1–4 were absent from the Ilanz hoard, which included tremisses of Desiderius and of Charlemagne (the latter pieces bearing the mint-names of Lucca and also of various other Italian cities). The non-inclusion in this hoard of these 'quasi-autonomous' coins of Lucca may, of course, be accidental, but it, so far, suggests that these tremisses were issued *subsequently* to the Carolingian tremisses. For quasi-autonomous tremisses of Pisa, of the same class as our Nos. 1, 2, see Th. Friedlaender, *Numismata medii aevi inedita*, Berlin, 1835, pp. 18 f., Pl. I, Nos. 7, 8.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Type 2 | | |
| | | | (monogram of Lucca). Within linear border. | VIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVI VIVIVI Cross potent, with limbs of nearly equal length. Annular border. | |
| 3 | 18·8 *(chipped)* | El. ·55 | [Sp. Mostras, 1852] | | xx. 15 |
| 4 | 20·2 *chipped)* | El. ·55 | | (VΛVΛVΛVΛVΛVV Λ) [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | xx. 16 |

# ITALIAN TREMISSES OF CHARLEMAGNE

These coins are not represented in the British Museum, but it is desirable to refer to them as illustrating the quasi-autonomous pieces of Lucca described p. 150, and because of their unusual historical and numismatic interest.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | D•N•CARVLVSR•EX<br>Cross potent | +FL•AVIA•LVCA<br>Star (or flower) within circle. Whole in linear border. | |
| | | | *N.* Tremissis. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. (See Prou, *Monnaies Carolingiennes*, 1896, p. lxxv.)<br>On other specimens the *obv.* type is a facing bust of Charlemagne (see Engel and Serrure, *Traité de num.*, i, p. 35, Fig. 96). | | xx. 17 |

The hoard discovered in 1904 at Ilanz, Canton Grisons, Switzerland, contained, besides one or two tremisses of Liutprand, many 'star' (or 'flower') tremisses of Desiderius, and many similar 'star' (or 'flower') tremisses bearing the name of Charlemagne. These Carolingian pieces were further inscribed with the name of several Italian mints :—Milan, Pavia, Bergamo, Lucca, Seprio. For a description of this find see F. Jecklin, *Der langobardisch-karolingische Münzfund bei Ilanz*, München, 1906; see also the reviews of this monograph, *Rev. num.*, 1906, p. 361 (Blanchet); *Rivista ital. di num.*, 1906, p. 273 (Perini).

# UNCERTAIN

of

## LOMBARDIC SERIES

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| 1 | 19·5 | *AV* ·65 | V–IIIII TOTO+ (?) Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Annular border. [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-74] | VNIIVIINIIVIIIVIIV NIIVIIII Cross potent. Annular border in high relief. | xxi. 1 |
| | | | From the style, and the character of the *rev.* legend, probably of the eighth century. There was a Duke Toto of Nepi (Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vii, p. 279), whose date is *circ.* A.D. 767; but it would probably be rash to attribute the coin to him, nor is the reading of the *obv.* beyond dispute, for it may possibly be +OTO+ or +O⅃O⅃. | | |
| 2 | 21·1 | *AV* ·65 | •••• ••••• (dots instead of letters). Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Annular border. [Purchased, 1867, 12-24-4] | VITIIOITIINATIO VII Cross potent; below, OИO⅃. Annular border in high relief. | xxi. 2 |
| | | | The *obv.* is of much the same style as No. 1. | | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | D I I [M ?] Λ V [R ?] T [T ?] II ꟼ P A V ſ Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Annular border. | V I I T O R V H I I O I R V I Cross potent; below, I O И O T. Annular border in high relief. | |
| 3 | 22·7 | Æ ·65 | [de Salis gift] | | xxi. 3 |
| | | | On the *obv.* an attempt seems to be made to write the name of Maurice Tiberius (A.D. 582–602), but the form of the cross potent on the *rev.* suggests that the coin is not earlier than the period of Heraclius, *circ.* A.D. 610. | | |
| | | | V I И I I I. I I Λ I Π V Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. Annular border. | V I Λ T O I И I O Λ T V Cross potent; beneath, O И O. Annular border in high relief. | |
| 4 | 22·6 | Æ ·65 | [de Salis gift] | | xxi. 4 |
| | | | Perhaps of the period of Heraclius (A.D. 610–641). The paludamentum and cuirass on the *obv.* are curiously rendered. | | |

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# IV

# COINS OF THE DUCHY (AND PRINCIPALITY) OF BENEVENTUM[1]

## GRIMOALD I, 647–662; King of Lombards, 662–671
## ROMOALD I, 662–687
## GRIMOALD II, 687–689
## GISULF I, 689–706

The coinage of these dukes, or a portion of it, is perhaps to be identified with the gold coins described, *infra*, under 'Uncertain Beneventine Coinages'.

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## ROMOALD II

A. D. 706–731

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown (with globus), mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger. Border of dots. | Inscr. Cross potent, with base, placed on three steps; in field l., R (initial of Romoald); in ex., CO NOB. Border of dots. | |

[1] On the coins generally see especially A. Sambon, *Recueil des monnaies de l'Italie méridionale*, 'Bénévente,' published in *Le Musée* for June, 1908, and following parts.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Obverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (Variety 1) | | |
| 1 | 64·4 | Æ ·8 | DNIЧST INIANVSP PЄA[1] (On crown, globus cruciger) | VICTORI AVÇЧS• [de Salis gift] | xxi. 5 |
| 2 | 64· | Æ ·75 | DNIЧST INIANVSP PЄA (On crown, globus cruciger) | VICTORI AVÇЧS• [Blacas coll., 1867] | |
| | | | (Variety 2) | | |
| 3 | 64·2 | Æ ·8 | DNIVS – – TINIVN ЧPP [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1869, 7-9-65] | VICTORI AVÇVS• (globus instead of base) | xxi. 6 |
| 4 | 63·5 | Æ ·8 | DNIVS – – TINIVN ЧPP [Purchased, 1904, 10-8-53] | VICTORIA AVÇVST• (globus instead of base) | xxi. 7 |
| 5 | 61·2 | Æ ·75 | DNIVS[TI?]И IƆNV ƧPP[+?] (On crown, cross instead of globus); pellet (flaw?) in field r. | VICTORIA AVÇVSV• (globus instead of base) [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; obtained from an Italian dealer] | |
| 6 | 62·2 | Æ ·8 | DИIЧƧ ⊦IN..VP [de Salis gift] | VICTORA AVÇЧƧ• (globus instead of base; four steps)[2] | xxi. 8 |
| | | | Tremissis | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown (with cross), mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger. Linear border. | Inscr. Cross potent, with base; in field l., R; in ex., CON OB. Linear border. | |
| | | | (Variety 1) | | |
| 7 | 20· | Æ ·6 | DNIЧS TIИIVNЧS | VICTO ΛSVЧ [de Salis gift] | xxi. 9 |

[1] PPЄA = *Perpetuus Augustus.*

[2] A variant of Nos. 3–6 (Naples Museum = Sambon, No. 3) has R and • in the field of the *rev.*, instead of R only.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | 17·6 | *AV* ·55 | DNIV ƧTINANVƧ | VICTO AVÇЧS [Purchased, 1904, 10-8-58] | |
| 9 | 19·5 | *AV* ·6 | ∇ΛIΛ Ƨ[I?]TИVƧ (crown has globus) [de Salis gift] | VICTOR IAÇVƧ (base detached from cross) | xxi.10 |
| 10 | 17·3 | *AV* ·6 | DИI' VICVIƧV [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-483] | VICTO ΛƧVV• | xxi.11 |
| | | | (Variety 2) | | |
| 11 | 21·6 | *AV* ·55 | DNIЧS TINIANЧS (crown has pellet) [de Salis gift] | VICTOR IAVÇVS (globus between cross and base) | xxi.12 |
| 12 | 20·7 | *AV* ·6 | DNIVS TTINI∇□ (crown has globus). Same die as No. 13. [Purchased, 1864, 7-18-34] | VITORIA AVÇS• (globus between cross and base) | xxi.13 |
| 13 | 20·9 | *AV* ·6 | DNIVS TTINI∇□ (crown has globus). Same die as No. 12. | VICTOR AVÇV• (globus between cross and base) [de Salis gift] | xxi.14 |
| 14 | 21·3 | *AV* ·55 | DNIV ᔕTINIVN (crown without cross) [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | VICTO RIVVÇ (globus between cross and base) | |
| 15 | 18·3 | *AV* ·55 | DИ ƧINIΛN (crown has globus) [de Salis gift] | VICTOR IAVÇV• (globus between cross and base)[1] | xxi.15 |

[1] A variant of Nos. 11–15 (Sambon, No. 4) has R and • in the field of the *rev.*, instead of R only.

# AUDELAIS

A. D. 731–732

To this usurper Sambon (Nos. 5 and 6) has assigned a rare *solidus* and *tremissis* similar in character to those of Romoald II, but marked on the *rev.* with A. This letter (on the analogy of other coins in this series) is almost certainly the initial of the issuer, but among the Beneventine rulers there are five besides Audelais whose names begin with A. Of these, Arichis I and his son Aio lived long before the time of Justinian II, and cannot have struck these coins which are imitated (ultimately) from that Emperor's money. Adelchis and a later Aio, both rulers of the ninth century, are, on the other hand, too late for claimants, and their known coinage is of a different character.

There remains Arichis II, whose coins, though marked on the *rev.* with A, may without difficulty be distinguished from these which M. Sambon rightly assigns to Audelais, viz. by their roughness of style and fabric; by the type (in the First Coinage) of the Emperor holding the mappa and globus cruciger; by the inscriptions (in the Second Coinage) VICTORIA on *obv.* and VICTIR on *rev.*; both of which inscriptions are found on the series of A coins inscribed PRINPI (*Princeps*), which last-named coins can only belong to Arichis II, Prince (and, originally, Duke) of Beneventum.

# GREGORIUS

A. D. 732–739

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | DNI → • • ← NVSPP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger. Border of dots. | VICTO[R ?] VÇV2 * Cross potent with globus and base, placed on three steps; in ex., CO NOB; in field l., Ç. | |
| | | | *A*. Sambon, No. 8, Fig. '7' (i.e. 8). Cp. Sambon, No. 7. | | |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | DN• NVSPP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger. Linear border. | VICT 42 * Cross potent, with base; in ex., CONOB; in field l., Ç. Linear border. | |
| 1 | 19·2 | *A* ·6 | [de Salis gift][1] | | xxi.16 |
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | Bearded bust of an emperor facing, wearing crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger, above which, star. Border of dots. | O Ç + R Є within border of dots; pellet at extremities of cross. | |
| 2 | 4·8 | *R* ·4 | [de Salis gift] | | xxi.17 |
| 3 | 3·7 | *R* ·4 | [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | | xxi.18 |

[1] Cp. Sambon, No. 9. The attribution to Gregory of gold coins (solidus and tremissis) with Ç is fairly certain, the only other likely claimant being Gottschalk, the next duke; but the division between the two rulers proposed by Sambon seems probable.

The attribution of these coins (Nos. 2, 3) to Duke Gregory, supported by Muratori, Promis, and others, is dismissed by M. Sambon (*op. cit.*, p. 5) as 'tout à fait invraisemblable'. He does not specify his grounds of doubt: one objection would be, probably, that silver coins are not known to have been issued by the Beneventine rulers of this period. Another, that small Byzantine silver coins hardly occur so late as A.D. 732, and yet the coins in question would seem to have been inspired by Byzantine originals.

With regard to provenance, M. Sambon does not furnish any details. I do not know whether these coins are usually found in Italy, though our No. 3 came from the Kolb collection of Italian coins. In style, fabric, and size, and in the general character of the reverse type, the coins present some similarity to Imperial coins struck in Italy by Constans II (B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, Nos. 379–83, Rome; No. 399, Ravenna) and by Constantine IV (*op. cit.*, No. 95, Ravenna) which belong, approximately, to the period A.D. 654–680. On the other hand, the treatment of the obverse bust seems to me to suggest a *later* period than 680, and one may notice especially the arrangement of the hair in straight lines on the forehead, just as we find it on the Beneventine coins of the eighth century (gold of Romoald II and of Duke Gregory).

M. Sambon would follow those numismatists who assign these coins to Gregory the Patrician, the governor of Africa who revolted from the Emperor Constans II in 647, and who, according to Ibn Abd-el-Hakam, struck coins with his own effigy (*see* B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. xxviii n.). This attribution is not lightly to be rejected, but it must be observed that we have no evidence as to the African provenance of these coins, but that, if anything, they are somewhat Italian in style, and that the obverse, and perhaps even the reverse, seem to belong to a later date than 647.

Until further light is forthcoming, Muratori's attribution of these coins to Duke Gregory of Beneventum may therefore, perhaps, be conveniently retained, though it is by no means entirely satisfactory.

# GOTTSCHALK

A. D. 739–742

Solidi and tremisses marked D Ϛ (D = *dux*) may be attributed to this duke (Sambon, Nos. 12, 13); they belong to him rather than to his predecessor Gregory, because D Ϛ seems to lead up to the ꝵ Ϛ found on the coins of the successor of Gottschalk, viz. Gisulf II.

These coins with D Ϛ have as obverses the conventional name and bust of Justinian II, but there are also solidi and tremisses with Ϛ on the reverse which bear on the obverse the name and bust of the Emperor Leo III, A. D. 717–741 (Sambon, Nos. 10, 11). These coins, which seem to be Beneventine in style, might possibly have been struck by Duke Gregory (A. D. 732–739), but Gottschalk is the more probable issuer because, as Sambon has pointed out, he was for a time in alliance with the Emperor's representative at Ravenna.

# GISULF II

A. D. 742–751

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Type 1** | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | DNI – – INVSPP<br>Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown (above which three pellets), mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger. Border of dots. | VICTOR AÇVSTO<br>Cross potent, with globus and base, placed on three steps; in ex., CONOB; in field, ⍉ and Ç. Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 58. | *AV* ·8 | [Purchased, 1863, 7-13-3][1] | | xxi. 19 |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | See Sambon, Nos. 15, 16 (with Ç ⍉). | | |
| | | | **Type 2** | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | DV – – INVPP<br>Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown (above which, three pellets), mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger; in l., mappa.[2] Border of dots. | VICTRƲ ƲÇVSTV<br>Cross potent, with globus and base, placed on three steps; in ex., CONOB; in field, Ç and ⍉. Border of dots. | |
| 2 | 61·6 | *AV* ·75 | [de Salis gift] | | xxi. 20 |

[1] Cp. Sambon, No. 14. On the attribution of Gisulf's coins see Sambon, p. 7. The monogram ⍉ appears also in the form ⍉, and sometimes precedes and sometimes follows Ç. Sambon explains it as containing 'the elements of the word *dux*': a more easily interpreted monogram of *dux* is seen on the coins of Duke Liutprand (pp. 165, 166, *infra*, and Sambon, Figs. 24–5).

[2] This representation of an Imperial bust holding the mappa as well as the globus cruciger does not occur onthe Imperial coins of Justinian II, but is first found on those

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger; in l., mappa. Border of dots. | Inscr. Cross potent, with base; in ex., CONOB; in field, Ϛ and Ꝛ. Border of dots. | |
| 3 | 20·2 | *AV* ·6 | DNIV– –IVSPP | VICT VϚTO [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | xxi. 21 |
| 4 | 20·3 | *AV* ·55 | DN– –IVCPP | VICOΓ ∇ϚTV [de Salis gift] | |
| 5 | 20·4 | *AV* ·55 | D– –VCPP [de Salis gift] | VICΛO ∇ϚTV (ON OB) | xxi. 22 |

of Anastasius II (A.D. 713–716). Later emperors also hold the mappa, and it is found on the coins of the Beneventine rulers who immediately succeeded Gisulf II, but in the course of the reign of Arichis II the mappa is once more abandoned, permanently.

# LIUTPRAND

A. D. 751–758

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Period I*, A. D. 751–755 | | |
| | | | (with his mother Scauniperga as regent) | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | DN ⊸ • • • • ⊷ IVNPP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger; in l., mappa. Border of dots. | VICTORV•:•VÇVSTV Cross potent, with globus and base, placed on three steps; in ex., CONOB; in field, S and L (i.e. Scauniperga and Liutprand). | |
| | | | *AV*. Weight about 60 grains: see Sambon, No. 19; and Martinori in *Rivista ital. di num.*, 1908, p. 219. | | |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | DN IVNPP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger; in l., mappa; above crown, ⊸ • • • • ⊷ Border of dots. | VTRA AÇVT Cross potent, with base; in ex., CONOB; in field, S and L. Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 20·1 | *AV* ·6 | | | xxii. 1 |
| | | | *Period II*, A. D. 756–757 | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger; in l., mappa; above crown, ⊸ • • • • ⊷ Border of dots. | Inscr. Cross potent, with globus and base, on three steps; in ex., CONOB; in field l., L (i.e. Liutprand). Border of dots.[1] | |

[1] A leaden seal with *obv.* and *rev.* types as on Nos. 2–4 and the name LIVTPRN is attributed by Schlumberger (*Rev. num.*, 1905, p. 356) to the Lombard king Liutprand (712–744), but it may rather, as M. Sambon suggests, belong to *Duke* Liutprand.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 61·9 | *AV* ·75 | DN IVNPP | VICTVRV•⁘•VÇVST VI [de Salis gift] | xxii. 2 |
| 3 | 60·5 | *AV* ·75 | DN •VNVPP | VITORV VÇVSTI [de Salis gift] | xxii. 3 |
| 4 | 33·4 | *Æ* ·75 (*gilt*) | DII •VNPP | VICTOR. ΛÇVSTV [de Salis gift][1] | xxii. 4 |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian II, facing; all as on Nos. 2–4. Border of dots. | Inscr. Cross potent, with base; in ex., CONOB; in field l., L. Border of dots. | |
| 5 | 20·3 | *AV* ·55 | DN VNPP | VITRV VÇVTV [de Salis gift] | xxii. 5 |
| 6 | 20·3 | *AV* ·55 | DN VNPP | VITR• VÇVT [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | |
| | | | *Period III*, A.D. 757–758[2] | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | DNI INVSPP Bust of Justinian II, facing; all as on No. 1. Border of dots. | VICTROV VÇVSTV Cross potent, with globus and base, on three steps; in ex., CONOB in field r., DX (i. e. L. DVX). Border of dots. | |
| | | | *AV*. Weight about 60 grains. Sambon, No. 23. | | |

[1] This coin is of bronze, but traces of gilding or gold plating are visible both on *obv.* and *rev.* It is perhaps the identical specimen, formerly in the Reichel collection, published by Koehne in *Mém. Soc. imp. d'arch. de St.-Pét.*, v. 1851, p. 341, No. 1, Pl. XII. 3. Another similar bronze 'solidus' of Liutprand was in the Colonna collection (Sale Catalogue, Canessa, Naples, Part i, May, 1909, lot 7). These pieces are no doubt ancient contemporary forgeries.

[2] I here follow the classification of M. Sambon, who assigns to Period III 'Monnaies de Liutprand rebelle, avec le titre de dux, 757–758.'

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| 7 | 19·5 | *A* ·55 | D VÇPP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger; in l., mappa; above crown, —•••— Border of dots. | VICTO VÇTV Cross potent, with base; in ex., CONOB; in field r., D (= L DVX).[1] Border of dots. [de Salis gift] | xxii. 6 |

[1] Cp. Sambon, No. 25, a variety with D in field l., and V in field r.

# ARICHIS II

A. D. 758–787

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **I. As DUX (758–774)** | | |
| | | | *Period I*, A. D. 758[1]—*circ.* 770 | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | DN IVNPP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, robe, and mantle; in r., globus cruciger; in l., mappa; above crown, — • • • —. Border of dots. | VICTIRV•:•:•VCVSTI Cross potent, with globus and base, on three steps; in ex., :CONOB; in field l., A (= Arichis). Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 61·2 | *AV* ·8 | [de Salis gift] | | xxii. 7 |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Justinian II, facing; all as on No. 1. Border of dots. | Inscr. Cross potent, with base; in ex., CONOB; in field l., A. Border of dots. | |
| 2 | 21·5 | *AV* ·6 | DN VNPP | VITIRV•:•:•VCVTI [de Salis gift] | xxii. 8 |
| 3 | 20· | *AV* ·6 | DN VNPP (above crown, • —) [Purchased, 1908, 7-7-1] | VTRV•:•:•VCVT (II for N) | xxii. 9 |

[1] Sambon (Nos. 26, 27) assigns to *circ.* A.D. 758 a 'Monnayage anonyme' with the symbol of a hand; on this coinage see *infra* under 'Uncertain Beneventine Coinage'.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Period II, circ.* A.D. 770–774 | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust (of Arichis II?), bearded, facing; wears crown with cross, and mantle; in r., globus cruciger.[1] Plain border in relief. | Inscr. Cross potent, with base, on three steps; in ex., CON OB; in field l., A. Plain border in relief. | |
| 4 | 59· | Æ ·85 | DNSVI CTORIA [de Salis gift] | VICTIRV·:·VÇVSTV | xxii. 10 |
| 5 | 60·2 | Æ ·75 | DNSVI CTORIA [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | VICTIRV·:·VÇVSTI | xxii. 11 |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust (of Arichis II?), facing; all as on Nos. 4–5. Plain border in relief. | Inscr. Cross potent, with base; in ex., CONOB; in field l., A. Plain border in relief. | |
| 6 | 19·4 | Æ ·55 | DNSVI—• •—CTORIA | VITIRV·:·VÇVTV [Loscombe sale, 1855, lot 957] | xxii. 12 |
| 7 | 19·2 | Æ ·6 | DNSVI—• •—CTORIA [Purchased, 1908, 7-7-2] | VITIRV·:·VÇVTI (O NOB) (A for A in field) | xxii. 13 |
| 8 | 19·8 | Æ ·6 | DNSVI CTORIA [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | VITIRV·:·VÇVTI (C ONOB) | xxii. 14 |
| 9 | 20·1 | Æ ·6 | DNSVI CTORIA [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; originally in an Italian collection] | VITVRV·:·VÇVTV | xxii. 15 |

[1] The mappa once more disappears, and is not represented again in later reigns; cp. note, p. 162, *supra*.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **II. As PRINCEPS (774–787)** | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | DNSVI–• •–CTORI Λ Bust (of Arichis II?), bearded, facing; wears crown with cross, and mantle; in r., globus cruciger. Plain border in relief. | VICTIRV•:•PRINPI Cross potent, with base, on three steps; below cross, C•ONO•B; in field l., A. Plain border in relief. | |
| 10 | 60·3 | AV ·85 | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | | xxii. 16 |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust facing; all as on No. 10. Plain border in relief. | Inscr. Cross potent, with base; below cross, C•ONO•B; in field l., A. Plain border in relief. | |
| 11 | 20· | AV ·65 | DNSVI–• •–CTORIΛ | VITIRV•:•PRINPI [Purchased, 1908, 7-7-3] | xxii. 17 |
| 12 | 19·8 | AV ·65 | DNSVI–• •–CTORI Λ | VITIRV•:•PRINPI [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | |

# GRIMOALD III

MAY ? 788–806

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Period I*, A.D. 788–792 | | |
| | | | (Coinage with names of Grimoald III and Charlemagne) | | |
| | | | (*a*) with title of DVX | | |
| | | | Solidus | | |
| | | | CRIM — • — VALDX (i.e. Dux) Bust of Grimoald III, bearded, facing; wears crown, with cross, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger. Plain border in relief. | DOMS • ⁘ • CAR • R Cross potent, with base, on three steps; in ex., •VIC▲•; in field, Ç and R. Plain border in relief. | |
| | | | *N*. Weight about 59 grains. Sambon, No. 34. | | |
| | | | (VIC (or VIC▲, on No. 1, &c.) occupies the usual position of CONOB: it is probably an abbreviation of the VICTORIA introduced by Arichis II; see *supra*, p. 168.) | | |
| | | | Tremissis | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Grimoald III, facing; all as on the corresponding solidus (see *supra*, Sambon, No. 34). | Inscr. Cross potent, with base; in ex., •VIC▲•; in field, Ç and R (i.e. name of Grimoald). Plain border in relief. | |
| 1 | 19·3 | *N* ·65 | CRIM — • — VALDX [Earl of Enniskillen, 1857] | DOMS • ⁘ • CAR • R (i.e. Dominus Carolus rex) | xxiii. 1 |
| 2 | 20·3 | *N* ·65 | Inscr. as on No. 1. [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; originally acquired in Naples] | Inscr. as on No. 1. | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **(β) without title of DVX** | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | CRIM—• —VALD Bust of Grimoald III, bearded, facing; wears crown with cross, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger. Plain border in relief. | DOMS•:•CAR•℞ Cross potent, with base, on three steps; in ex., •VIC▲•; in field, ς and R | |
| 3 | 60·5 | Æ ·8 | [de Salis gift] | | xxiii. 2 |
| 4 | 60·6 | Æ ·85 | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | (▲, in ex., varied, as on No. 5) | |
| 5 | 60· | Æ ·8 | [J. G. Pfister, 1857] | (CVAR for CAR•) (▲, in ex., varied)[1] | xxiii. 3 |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | CRIM—• —VALD Bust of Grimoald III, facing: all as on Nos. 3–5. Plain border in relief. | DOMS•:•CAR•℞ Cross potent, with base; in ex., VIC▲; in field, ς and R. Plain border in relief. | |
| 6 | 18· | Æ ·65 | (Λ for A) [J. G. Pfister, 1857] | (A for A) | xxiii. 4 |
| 7 | 19·2 | Æ ·65 | [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | | |
| 8 | 19·4 | Æ ·6 | [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | (In field l., CR, instead of ς and R[2]) | xxiii. 5 |
| | | | **Denarius** | | |
| | | | ς A ς ℞ (i.e. *Carolus Rex*) within wreath. | GVO + M (i.e. *Grimoaldus*) within wreath.[3] | |
| 9 | 17·8 (*chipped*) | Æ ·7 | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | | xxiii. 6 |

[1] The solidus in Sambon, No. 38, has CR in the field of the *rev.* instead of ς and R. It corresponds to the tremissis No. 8, *infra*.

[2] Cp. note 1.

[3] As Sambon, No. 41; for other types of the denarius see Sambon, Nos. 40 and 42.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Period II*, A.D. 792–806 | | |
| | | | (Coinage with name of Grimoald III only and title PRINCEPS) | | |
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | CRIM–• ←VALD Bust of Grimoald III, bearded, facing; wears crown, with cross, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger. Border of dots. | VICTORV•:•PRINCI P Cross potent, with globus and base, resting on two steps; below, C•ONO•B; in field, Ç and R. Border of dots. | |
| 10 | 60·3 | El. ·85 | [Purchased, 1847, 6-19-95] | (No globus; three steps)[1] (PRINCE for PRINCIP) | xxiii. 7 |
| 11 | 61·6 | Æ ·8 | [de Salis gift] | (C▲ ▲B) | xxiii. 8 |
| 12 | 59·6 | El. ·85 | [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | | xxiii. 9 |
| 13 | 57·3 | El. ·85 | (A) | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | CRIM–• ←VALD Bust of Grimoald III, facing: all as on Nos. 10–13. Border of dots. | VITORV•:•PRINCIP Cross potent on globus and base; below, C•ONO•B; in field, Ç and R. Border of dots. | |
| 14 | 19·7 | El. ·65 | (A) / (plain border in relief) [Purchased, 1847, 6-19-96] | (PRINCI) (without globus) (plain border in relief) | xxiii. 10 |

[1] The representation on No. 10 of the cross with base (only) and three steps is as on the solidi, Nos. 3–5, *supra*. On Nos. 11–13, which may be assumed to be a little later in issue than No. 10, the cross has both globus and base, and rests on two steps.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | 19·3 | El. ·65 | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | (•CONOƧ•) | xxiii. 11 |
| 16 | 19·3 | El. ·7 | [Baron Kolb coll., 1847][1] | (•CONOƧ•) | |
| | | | **Denarius** | | |
| | | | (*Grimoaldus*) In centre, pellet. Border of dots. | BENE• •BENTV Cross potent, with base on two steps; above, pellet; beneath, — • —; in field, A and Ꞷ. Border of dots. | |
| 17 | 22·1 (*chipped*) | Æ ·75 | (Ⓞ for O in mon.); on l., cross; on r., star-like object, with long stem.[2] | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | xxiii. 12 |
| 18 | 18·7 | Æ ·75 | On l., cross (wreath for border). | (Wreath for border) [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | xxiii. 13 |

[1] There is a curious variety of these tremisses reading on the *obv.* AMAND ... PFAV: see Promis, *Monete di zecche italiane*, Turin, 1867, p. 14, Pl. I. 7 = Sambon, No. 45.

[2] Cp. Sambon, No. 47, where it is described as a 'une comète' or 'un ostensoir?' [*ostensorium*, monstrance]. Cp. the similar object on a denarius of Adelchis, *infra*, Pl. XXV. 6.

# GRIMOALD IV, Princeps

A. D. 806–817

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Denarius**[1] | | |
| | | | CRIMOALDFILIVSER MENRIH• Ornament formed of an ear of corn, two ivy-leaves, and stem. Border of dots. | ARCHANCELVSMIC HAEL• Cross pattée, radiate. Border of dots.[2] | |
| 1 | 22·1 | Ar ·65 | (CRIN for CRIM) | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | xxiii. 14 |

[1] The absence of a gold coinage is remarkable, because Grimoald's reign was of some length, and both his predecessor and successor issued gold solidi and tremisses. The simplest supposition is that the numerous gold coins of Grimoald III's latest issue (A.D. 792–806) continued to supply the currency of Grimoald IV.

It is, indeed, natural to ask whether among the gold coins assigned to Grimoald III there may not be some that belong to Grimoald IV; but an examination of the gold pieces bearing the name of *Grimvald* (latest issue) will show that they are all so much of one style that there are no rational criteria for dividing them between the two kings of this name.

Still, it may be by an accident that Grimoald IV's gold has not come down to us; and that he was no servile imitator of the coins of his predecessor is shown by his selection of new types for his denarius and by his inscribing upon it the name of the archangel Michael. His successor Sico retained this *Archangelus Michael* legend on his silver coins, and on his gold solidi placed not only the name but also the full-length figure of the archangel. If Grimoald IV struck solidi it may be conjectured that they bore a similar figure of St. Michael, though on his denarius—as we know—only the *name* of the archangel appeared.

[2] The type of the *rev.* may, conceivably, have been suggested by the star or flower type of the tremisses of the Lombard king Desiderius (dethroned A.D. 774; Pl. XX. 12), and the legend *Archangelus Michael* by the *Scs. Mihahil* of the Lombard regal coinage. But in neither case can there have been more than a suggestion, and the *obv.* type is original, or at any rate new, on the coins. This curious design (Pl. XXIII. 14–17) has been described as a trident with an ear of corn, as a flower, and even as an anchor. The best view may be that it is a stylized representation of an ear of corn and ivy leaves (cp. Sambon, No. 49; Keary, *Coinages of W. Europe*, p. 100. On the denarii of Prince Radelchis I (A.D. 839–851), described *infra*, the type or a variation of it reappears; Pl. XXV. 2, 3).

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 21·1 (*chipped*) | Æ ·7 | (ΛL for AL) | (S for Ƨ) [Samuel Smith sale, London, May, 1908, lot 138] | xxiii. 15 |
| 3 | 16·5 (*broken*) | Æ ·65 | (CRIM . . . . DFIL . . . . . MENRIHI•) [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | (ARCHAИ . . . . ƧMI . . ÀEL •) | |
| 4 | 20·4 | Æ ·65 | (GRIMOΛLDFILVSER MENRIHI•) (stem of Y form) | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | xxiii. 16 |
| 5 | 18·8 | Æ ·75 | (CRIMOADFILIVSER MENRIHI•) (stem of Y form) | (ARCHANCELVƧ MI CHAEL•) [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | xxiii. 17 |

## SICO, Princeps

A. D. 817–832

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Sico, bearded, facing; wears crown with cross, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger. Plain border in relief. | Inscr. The archangel Michael, winged, standing facing; in r., long cross with crooked head[1]; in l., globus cruciger; below, towards l., CONO. Plain border in relief. | |
| 1 | 59·7 | El. ·85 | SICO— •—PRINCES [de Salis gift] | ARCHANÇELVS MI CHAEL | xxiv. 1 |
| 2 | 58· | *A* ·85 | SICOP— •—RINCES; in field r., ▲ [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | ARCHANÇELVS MI HAEL (ONO); beneath, type, ▲ | xxiv. 2 |
| 3 | 59· | El. ·85 (*pale*) | (All as on No. 2) | (All as on No. 2) [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; originally in an Italian coll.] | |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Sico, facing; as on No. 1. | Inscr. Cross potent, with base; in field, S and C (i.e. Sico). | |
| 4 | 20·4 | *A* ·65 | SICO— •—PRINCES; in field r., pellet. Plain border in relief. [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | ARCHANÇELV ⁘ S MICHAEL •; inscr. beginning beneath type: a pellet at each end of base. Plain border in relief. | xxiv. 3 |

[1] Evidently derived from P, part of XP, the name of Christ.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 18·6 | El. ·65 | SICO—• •—PRINCES; in field r., ▲. Border of dots. [Purchased, 1862, 4-15-5] | •⁘• ARCHANÇELVSM ICHAEL; inscr. beginning on r.; on l. of cross, pellet. Plain border in relief. | |
| 6 | 19·4 | El. ·65 | SICO—• •—PRINCES; in field r., ▲. Border of dots. [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | (Ↄ and Ƨ for S and C) ARCHANÇELVSM ICHAEL▲; inscr. beginning on r. Border of dots. | xxiv. 4 |
| | | | Denarius | | |
| | | | PRINCESBENEBEN TI• (i.e. Sico). Border of dots. | Inscr. Cross potent, with base, on two steps. Border of dots. | |
| 7 | 16·6 | Æ ·7 | Inscr. begins at top; pellet in centre. [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | ARCHANÇELVSMIC HAEL•; inscr. begins at top; in field, pellet r. and l. | xxiv. 5 |
| 8 | 18·8 | Æ ·65 | Inscr. begins at bottom; pellet in centre. [Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | ANCNANÇELVSMI CNACL•; inscr. begins at top; in field, pellet r. and l. | |
| 9 | 19·9 | Æ ·75 | Inscr. begins at bottom; pellet in centre. [de Salis gift] | ANCNANÇELVSMIC NACL•; inscr. begins at top; in field, pellet r. and l. | xxiv. 6 |
| 10 | 19·8 | Æ ·7 | (+ for •) inscr. begins at top; in centre and each angle of cross, pellet. [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | ARCHANÇELVSMIH AEL; inscr. begins at top; in field, pellet r. and l. | xxiv. 7 |
| 11 | 19·8 | Æ ·75 | (PRIH for PRIN) inscr. begins at top; in lower r. angle of cross, pellet. [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | ARCHANÇELVSMIC HAEL•; inscr. begins at top; in field l., pellet. | |
| 12 | 19·6 | Æ ·65 | (PRIИCESBENIBEN TI) inscr. begins at top; in upper r. angle of cross, pellet. [de Salis gift] | ARCHANÇELVSMIC HAEL•; inscr. begins at bottom; in field l., pellet. | xxiv. 8 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | 17·3 | Æ ·65 | (PRIH for PRIN; ▲ for •, and +) inscr. begins at top; in lower l. angle of cross, star. [Samuel Smith sale, London, 1908, lot 138] | ΛRCHΛNÇELVSMIC HΛEL▲; inscr. begins at bottom; in field l., pellet. | xxiv. 9 |
| 14 | 19· | Æ ·7 | (▲ for •, and +) inscr. begins at top; in lower r. angle of cross, star. [J.G. Pfister, 1855] | ΛRCHΛNÇELVSMIC HΛEL▲; inscr. begins at bottom. | |
| 15 | 17·2 | Æ ·7 | (PRIH for PRIN; ▲ for •, and +) inscr. begins at top; pellet in centre; in lower r. angle of cross, star. | ΛRCHΛNÇELVSMIC HΛEL•; inscr. begins at bottom. [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | |
| 16 | 15·4 | Æ ·65 | (PRIHCESBENEBEHM IT); inscr. begins at top; (✓ instead of •) | ΛRCHΛNÇELVSMIC HΛEL▲; inscr. begins at bottom. [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | |

# SICARDUS, Princeps

A.D. 832—JULY 839

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | SIC—• •—ARDV• Bust of Sicardus r., bearded, facing; wears crown with cross, robe, and mantle; in r., globus cruciger; in field r., ▲. Border of dots. | VICTORV + PRINCI Cross potent, with base, on two steps; below, ◀CONOB▶; in field, S and I (i.e. name of Sicardus). Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 54· | El. ·9 | Two pellets above head. | [Purchased, 1849, 6-28-2] | xxiv. 10 |
| 2 | 58·8 | El. ·9 | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | | |
| 3 | 58·2 | El. ·9 | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; from an Italian source] | (• for V) | |
| 4 | 52·2 (*chipped*) | Æ ·9 (or El.) | [Baron Kolb coll., 1847] | (• for V) | xxiv. 11 |
| | | | **Tremissis** | | |
| | | | SIC—• •—ARDV• Bust of Sicardus facing, as on Nos. 1–4; in field r., ▲. Border of dots. | VICTORV•:•PRINCI Cross potent, with base; below, CON OB; in field, S and I. Border of dots. | |
| 5 | 18· | El. ·65 | [de Salis gift] | (▲) | xxiv. 12 |
| 6 | 19·2 | El. ·65 | (Λ) [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | (◀CONOB▶) | |
| 7 | 18·4 | El. ·65 | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Denarius** | | |
| | | | + PRINCEBENEBENT I (i.e. Sicard) Border of dots. | •Λ•RCHANÇELVΠIC HΛEL• Cross potent, with base, on two steps; in field, r. and l., pellet. Border of dots. | |
| 8 | 19·2 | Æ ·7 | Pellet in centre. | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | **xxiv. 13** |
| 9 | 17·4 | Æ ·65 | Pellet in centre (D for B[1]) | [de Salis gift] | **xxiv. 14** |

[1] The letter B is intended, which on No. 8 is formed as D with a horizontal stroke.

# RADELCHIS I

A.D. 839–851

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Solidus** | | |
| | | | RAD– •–ELCHIS Bust of Radelchis I, bearded, facing; wears crown with cross, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger; in field r., ▲. Border of dots. | •:• ARCHANȻE ▼ ΠI CHAEL• Cross potent, with base, on two steps; in field, R and A (i.e. Radelchis). Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 53· | El. ·9 (*pale*) | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | | xxv. 1 |
| | | | **Denarius** | | |
| | | | Type 1 | | |
| | | | See Sambon, No. 64. The *obv.* has the letters RADEL attached to a cross (as on the denarius of Sicardus); on *rev.* Cross potent, on steps. | | |
| | | | Type 2 | | |
| | | | See Sambon, No. 65, and Colonna Sale Cat. (Naples; Canessa), 1909, p. 3, No. 28. Similar monogrammatic cross with letters RADEL. On *rev.* Cross potent, on steps, and inscr. RADELC HIS PRINCES. | | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Type 3 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Ornament formed of an ear of corn and two ivy-leaves on stalks bent downwards.[1] Border of dots. | Inscr. Cross pattée, radiate. Border of dots. | |
| 2 | 16·5 | Æ ·75 | RADELGIHSPRɔNCE PS•<br>[de Salis gift] | ΛRHANÇEIΠICHΛE L• | xxv. 2 |
| 3 | 18·8 | Æ ·7 | RADELCHISPRNICE PS•<br>[J. G. Pfister, 1855] | ΛRCHANÇEIΠICHΛ EL• | xxv. 3 |

[1] Compare the nearly similar type on denarii of Grimoald IV (A.D. 806–817), described *supra*, p. 174.

## RADELGARIUS, Princeps

A.D. 851–853

Of the son and successor of Radelchis I no coins are known.

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## ADELCHIS, Princeps

A.D. 853–878

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | A. *With name of Adelchis only.* | | |
| | | | **Denarius**[1] | | |
| | | | Type 1 | | |
| | | | With ADEL / PRIN on *obv.* and Cross radiate on *rev.* Sambon, No. 68; Papadopoli in *Rivista ital. di num.*, 1894, p. 306. | | |
| | | | Type 2 | | |
| | | | On *obv.* Cross on steps and inscr. **ADELHIS PRINCE**; on *rev.* Cross with two rosettes, &c. Sambon, No. 69. | | |

[1] Adelchis is not known to have struck any coins in gold. In his reign, or a little earlier, we find frequent mention in the contracts of Salerno of the gold money of earlier Beneventine rulers; e.g. *Pretium auri figurati solidi ex monetis domni Sicardi veteri.—Boni tremissi ex monetis domni Arechis*: see Sambon, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 f.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Type 3[1] | | |
| | | | +SANCTAMARIA P In centre, A D L R (i.e. Adelchis Princeps). Border of dots. | +ARHANÇELVΠIH Cross pattée. Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 16·6 | Æ ·75 | [Purchased, 1908, 10-8-5] | | xxv. 4 |
| | | | Type 4 | | |
| | | | With cruciform monogram of St. Maria on *obv.*; on *rev.* Cross potent on steps. Inscr. Sambon, No. 71. | | |
| | | | Type 5[2] | | |
| | | | +ΛDELÇISIPRINCE Cross pattée, between A and Ш. Border of dots. | +ARHANÇELVSΠIH A In centre, (i.e. Sancta Maria). Border of dots. | |
| 2 | 13·6 (*chipped*) | Æ ·8 | [Purchased, 1908, 10-8-3] | | xxv. 5 |
| | | | Type 6 | | |
| | | | *Obv.* Temple and ADELCHIS PRIN. *Rev.* Cross on steps and SCAMARIA. Sambon, No. 74. | | |

[1] Sambon, No. 70.

[2] Sambon, No. 72; cp. No. 73.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Type 7[1] | | |
| 3 | 18·3 | Æ ·75 | (name of Adelchis); on l., cross pattée; on r., star-like object with long stem.[2] Border of dots. | •BENE• •BENTV Cross potent, with base, on two steps; in field, Π and H (i. e. Michael); beneath, ⊸ • •⊸. Border of dots. | xxv. 6 |
| | | | [Purchased, 1908, 10-8-4] | | |
| | | | B. *With names of Adelchis and the Emperor Louis II.* | | |
| | | | Dec. 866—Aug. 871[3] | | |
| | | | Denarius | | |
| | | | (*a*) *Obv.* LVDOVICVSIMPE Ornament (cp. Radelchis I, p. 182, *supra*) formed of ear of corn and two ivy-leaves on stalks bent downwards, between A and R (*Archangelus*). *Rev.* ADEL HISPRINCES Patriarchal cross between M and H (*Michael*). Sambon, No. 76. | | |
| | | | (*b*) *Obv.* I LVDO VVICV P; *Rev.* with ARHANÇE MIHAEL, and in centre, P ADEL R Sambon, No. 77. | | |
| | | | There are also denarii struck at Beneventum with the names of Louis II and his wife Angilberga. Sambon, Nos. 78-87. | | |

[1] Sambon, No. 75.

[2] The same object is found on a denarius of Grimoald III, *supra*, p. 173, No. 17, Pl. XXIII. 12, which has evidently suggested the types of both sides of the present coin (No. 3).

[3] These dates respectively refer to the submission of Adelchis at Beneventum to the invading emperor Louis II and to the capture and imprisonment of Louis by Adelchis.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | C. *With the names of Adelchis and Pope John VIII*<br>*Circ.* A.D. 875[1]<br>**Denarius**<br>*Obv.* ADELÇI•PRN, and in centre cruciform monogram composed of IOHA. *Rev.* SCAMR (*Sancta Maria*) written across the field; above and below, a rosette.<br>Sambon, No. 88. | | |

[1] When the Pope was endeavouring to bring the Lombard states under his suzerainty.

## GAIDERIS, Princeps

A. D. 878–881

### Denarius

*Obv.* Monogrammatic cross with letters of ÇAIDERI PRIN. *Rev.* Monogrammatic cross with letters of S̄ MARIA.

Sambon, No. 89; Promis, *Monete di zecche italiane*, 1867, p. 19, Pl. I. 14.

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## RADELCHIS II, Princeps (First Reign)

A. D. 881–884

### Denarius

*Obv.* Monogrammatic cross with the letters of RADELHIS PRIN. *Rev.* SCAMARIA and monogrammatic cross with MIHA (*Michael Archangelus*).

Sambon, No. 90.

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## AIO, Princeps

A. D. 884–890

The only coin known of this prince is a denarius of base alloy with *obv.* Monogrammatic cross with letters AIO PR; and *rev.* Cross potent on steps between A and Ш.

Sambon, No. 91; Promis, *Monete di zecche italiane*, 1867, p. 20, Pl. II. 16.

## INTERREGNUM

A. D. 890–897

Beneventan coins probably ceased to be issued during the greater part of this period, but an anonymous denarius is attributed by Sambon (No. 92) to Bishop Peter, governor of the town in 897.

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## RADELCHIS II (Second Reign)

A. D. 897–899

Apparently issued no coins. On the expulsion of Radelchis in 899 the Beneventans acknowledged Atenolf, lord of Capua, as their prince (A. D. 900–910). Some small silver coins (half denarii ?) bearing simply **SCA** on the *obv.* and **MAR** on the *rev.* (=*Sancta Maria*) have been assigned to the period of his rule at Beneventum (Sambon, Nos. 93, 94).

# UNCERTAIN BENEVENTAN COINAGES

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | ? Reign of **GRIMOALD I**, A.D. 647–662<br><br>**Solidus** | | |
| | | | •—•NCON ƬЧVΛTI NOVΛT Bust of Constans II (on l.) with long beard and moustache and smaller bust of Constantine IV, beardless, each facing and wearing paludamentum and cuirass, and crown with globus cruciger; between them, small cross. Border of dots. | VΛTNI– Γ ⅂ VΛT ЧГ Cross potent, with base, on three steps; on l., Heraclius; on r., Tiberius; each is beardless, stands facing, wears long robes and crown with cross, and holds in r. globus cruciger; beneath, CONOB. Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 67·4 | *Æ* ·75 | [Sale of Cav. J. P. Campana of Rome, London, Sotheby's, 1846, lot 1367] | | xxv. 7 |
| | | | This coin closely resembles a solidus of the Emperor Constans II assigned in B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins* (p. 306, No. 378, Pl. XXXV. 3), to the mint of Rome, A.D. 659–668, and there would be no difficulty in assigning it to the same mint were it not for the gross blundering of the inscriptions (representing *Dn. Constantinus et Constant. PP. Au.* on the *obv.* and *Victoria Augu* on the *rev.*) which seems to preclude Rome, and renders Beneventum at this early period a not unlikely mint-place. | | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | ? Reigns of ROMOALD I (662–687)<br>GRIMOALD II (687–689)<br>GISULF I (689–706) | | |
| | | | Solidus | | |
| 2 | 66· | Æ .75 | ƆNCO ∀ SPPƳ Bust of Constantine IV, bearded, facing, wears cuirass, diadem, and helmet with crest; in r., spear held transversely; in l., shield with horseman device. Border of dots. | VICTRA ∀NΛTO Cross potent, with base, on three steps; in ex., CONOB and +. Border of dots. | |
| | | | [Purchased, 1904, 10-8-36] | | xxv. 8 |
| | | | Compare B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, 'Constantine IV,' Nos. 13–17, Constantinople, and No. 77, Rome; date, *circ.* A. D. 670–685. The minute dots of the border and the rough relief of the types point to Rome and Southern Italy, but the blundering of the legends renders Beneventum a more likely mint-place than Rome. | | |
| | | | Tremissis | | |
| 3 | 22· | El. .55 | Inscr. Bust of Constantine IV r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots. | Inscr. Cross potent, with base. Border of dots. | |
| | | | ICONT• <TOINΛV [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-56] | VIITOIIII IVIITII; in ex., COИO; in field r., Θ | xxv. 9 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 21·7 | *A* ·55 | ꝺIIꝺOΛIT–IIꞱ⅂OPI IΓ [de Salis gift] | VIIΓOΛI [I?]TOIIΓ; in ex., ⅂OꞰO; in field r., Φ | XXV. 10 |
| | | | Compare the similar tremisses in B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, 'Constantine IV,' Nos. 78–86, assigned to the Roman mint; but here again the blundered legends of our Nos. 3 and 4 may be held to preclude an attribution to Rome. | | |
| | | | Period of GISULF II (742–751) | | |
| | | | Solidus | | |
| | | | DNI – • • • – INVS PP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger; in l., mappa. Border of dots. | VICTOR ∇ϛVSTO Cross potent, on globe and four steps; beneath, CONOB; in field l., open right hand. Border of dots. | |
| 5 | 62·6 | *A* ·8 | [Montagu sale, Paris, 1896, lot 1291; found at Benevento] | | XXV. 11 |
| | | | Tremissis | | |
| | | | DNI– –IVSPP Bust of Justinian II, facing; all as on No. 5, but without mappa and no pellets above crown. Border of dots. | VICT VϛTO Cross potent, with base; beneath, CONOB; in field r., open left hand; in field l., pellet. Border of dots. | |
| 6 | 19·4 | *A* ·6 | [J. G. Pfister, 1855] | | XXV. 12 |

No. 5 probably came from the hoard of Beneventan gold coins discovered at Benevento about the year 1878 (see Capobianchi in *Rivista ital. di num.*, 1892, p. 88; cp. Photiades, *Cat.*, 'Monn. byzantines,' Paris, 1890, No. 370, Pl. I. 370, apparently our No. 5). Sambon (Nos. 26 and 27) would assign the solidi and tremisses of this class—the chief characteristic of which is the *hand* symbol on the *rev.*—to about the year 758, and Capobianchi (*loc. cit.*) attributes them to the reign of Duke Liutprand, A. D. 751–758.

It cannot be doubted that this dating is near the mark, but I think it may be shown on numismatic grounds that the coins should be placed some

few years earlier than 758 or 751, and even that their exact position, or at any rate the position of the solidus, is between the first and second coinages of Gisulf II (Pl. XXI. 19, 20; p. 162, *supra*). In the case of the solidus (No. 5) this may be shown as follows:—

i. From a comparison of the *obv. legend* with that on other Beneventan solidi of the eighth century.

| | |
|---|---|
| Duke Gisulf II (Type 1) | DNI INVSPP |
| ,, (Type 2) | D[N] INVPP |
| Uncertain Beneventan solidus (No. 5) | DNI INVSPP |
| Duke Liutprand (usual legend) | DN IVNPP |
| Duke Arichis II (first coinage, A. D. 758) | DN IVNPP |

If the solidus (No. 5) were inserted between Liutprand and Arichis, *circ.* 758, as proposed by Sambon, it would break the sequence of the legends, i.e. DN INVSPP would come between coins reading DN IVNPP. (One coin of Liutprand, however, reads DNI INVSPP.)

ii. *Style.*—The solidus on the *obv.* closely resembles the solidus of the first coinage of Gisulf II (Pl. XXI. 19), but it is not quite so rough in appearance as the second coinage of the same duke (Pl. XXI. 20), or as the solidi of his successors, Liutprand and Arichis II. In colour, moreover, it approximates to that of the first solidus of Gisulf II.

iii. *Type.*—The solidus, though in *style* like the first coinage of Gisulf II, has the *obv.* type of his second coinage, i.e. the figure holds the mappa in addition to the globus. Its place is, therefore, between the two coinages.

Similar arguments apply to the tremissis (No. 6), except that it would seem to be slightly earlier than the solidus (No. 5), because it has the *obv.* type of the *first* coinage of Gisulf II (bust with globus and without mappa).

But though the approximate date of issue of these coins may not be doubtful, i.e. it must be some time between 742 and 751 (the extreme dates of the reign of Gisulf II), it would, perhaps, be rash to assert that the issuer was Gisulf himself, though I regard this as very probable. The clue to the issuer is doubtless given by the symbol of the hand on the *rev.*, which here takes the place of the letter or letters which are regularly inserted for the purpose of recording the issuer's name (e.g. ⊔ on coins of Liutprand, ς on those of Gisulf, &c.). But the precise significance of the hand is unfortunately obscure. All that we can say, perhaps, is that it appears to be a Lombard emblem; at any rate, it occasionally occurs on the Lombard regal coins as early as the time of Cuninepert, A. D. 688–700, and is also found on coins of King Liutprand, A. D. 712–744. If we might regard the hand as distinctly the badge of Lombard kings—and this is very doubtful—we might bring it into connexion with King Liutprand who, in 742, visited Beneventum and installed Gisulf II as Duke. But, on the whole, it seems best for the present to leave the issuer's name uncertain.

# V.

# COINS OF THE EMPIRE OF THESSALONICA

A. D. 1222—1243 (1246)

## THEODORE Angelus Comnenus Ducas

1222–1230

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Silver Nomisma** (Scyphate) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Theodore Angelus, bearded, on l., and St. Demetrius, beardless, on r., standing facing, holding between them long cross ornamented with O, •, and Δ; on r. and l. of base of cross, a star. Theodore wears crown, tunic, and sash with stellate ornament; his r. hand placed on heart. St. Demetrius wears nimbus, military cloak, and cuirass, and holds in l. drawn sword. Two borders of dots. | $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ / IC ΑΚ Christ, bearded, seated, facing, on throne without back; wears nimbus (ornamented with radiating lines and with • and •), mantle, and tunic, and holds in l. book of Gospels.[1] | |

[1] This coin has usually been assigned to Theodore II ('III') Ducas Lascaris, Emperor of Nicaea (see Marchant, *Lettres*, p. 357; De Saulcy, *Essai de class.*, Pl. 31. 7; Sabatier, ii, p. 296, No. 4, Pl. 65. 5; Windisch-Grätz, *Cat.*, p. 31, No. 347), and there are, at least, no decisive objections to this attribution. I am, however, inclined to assign the coin to

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 41·9 (*pierced*) | Æ 1·05 | On l., ΘЄΟΔWΡΟCΔ[ϐ] KAC (some letters indistinct); on r., OA[ΓHOC?]ΔHM HTPO (letters carelessly formed) | (K obscure) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-406] | xxvi. 1 |
| 2 | 40·7 (*pierced*) | Æ 1·1 | (Traces of similar inscr. to No. 1; ends HM HTP O); stars obscure; sash ornamented with cross and squares. | [de Salis gift] | xxvi. 2 |
| | | | **Bronze Nomisma (Scyphate)** | | |
| | | | Type 1 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Theodore Angelus, bearded, on l., and St. Demetrius, bearded, on r., standing facing. Theodore wears crown, mantle, and tunic; places r. hand on heart and holds in l. sword. The Saint wears nimbus, cloak, and cuirass, and holds in l. drawn sword. Two borders. | Inscr. Bust of Christ, beardless, facing, wearing nimbus cruciger with ⁘, tunic, and mantle. | |
| 3 | 75·5 | Æ 1·2 | [ΘЄ]OΔWPOC on l.; OΛΓHOC[ΔHM?] on r. (type double-struck) | $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{X C}}$ Є N ϐ [M] M [A] H [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1111][1] | xxvi. 3 |

Theodore Angelus because (i) we have no silver nomismata of his reign, while Theodore II is already provided with at least one type of the silver nomisma; (ii) Demetrius is the patron-saint of Thessalonica, while Theodore II especially honours St. Tryphon; (iii) the treatment of the figures on the *obv.*, the representation of the nimbus of Christ, &c., differ from what we find on the coins of Theodore II. But the attribution can hardly be settled satisfactorily without evidence as to *provenance.*

The *rev.* inscr. has been explained by Svoronos (*Journ. int. d'Arch. Num.*, ii, p. 387) as an abbreviation of Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἷς ἅγιος Κύριος.

[1] The identical specimen described by Sabatier (ii, p. 298, No. 11, Pl. 65. 12), who has preferred to attribute it to Theodore II ('III') of Nicaea.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Type 2 | | |
| | | | Θ Є<br>O Δ Ш [KOMNHN<br>[P]OC OC O ΔȢ<br>[Δ]Є C KAC][1]<br>[ΠO]T<br>[HC?]<br>The Emperor Theodore standing facing, holding in r. labarum, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, robe, and mantle. Border. | Bust of the Saviour (Emmanuel) facing, beardless ?; wears nimbus and drapery; r. hand blessing; [l. holding globus cruciger?]; in field, IC and [XC]<br>✱ ✱<br>Border. | |
| 4 | 53·2 (*pierced*) | Æ 1·15 | | [de Salis gift] | xxvi. 4 |
| | | | **Bronze** (flat fabric) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Bust of Theodore Angelus on l. and bust of St. Demetrius on r., both facing; between them cross crosslet, adorned with crescent and •, placed on steps. The Emperor wears crown and drapery; and holds in l. volumen. St. Demetrius holds in r. sword, in l. shield. Border of dots. | +ΘЄ<br>OΔШPOC<br>ΔЄCΠOT<br>HCOΔOV<br>KΛC<br>Border of dots. | |

[1] The last three words of the inscr. are nearly obliterated, but the coin may be compared with Sabatier, ii, p. 301, No. 1, Pl. 66. 7; with Photiades, *Cat.*, No. 634, which is described as similar to Sabatier's Pl. 66. 7; and with Photiades, No. 635. (Some specimens have the word ЄMMANȢHΛ on the *rev.*) The attribution to this Theodore in preference to either of the two Theodores who were Emperors of Nicaea is due to Marchant (*Lettres*, ed. 1851, p. 348, No. 2, and p. 357). A concave bronze coin is attributed in Photiades, *Cat.*, No. 636, to this Theodore reading on *obv.* ΘЄOΔOPOC (*sic*) ΔȢ and with the type of the Emperor and St. Michael standing; *rev.* Christ seated facing. The possibility of its being of Theodore II of Nicaea is not to be overlooked.

The small bronze coin attributed by Pfaffenhoffen in *Rev. Num.*, 1865, p. 291, Pl. XII. 5, to this Theodore would seem, if correctly described, rather to belong to Theodore II of Nicaea. It has *obv.* [ΘЄO]ΔШPOC ΔЄCΠOTHC Theodore standing holding cross and volumen, and *rev.* Lis. Cp. the lis on coins of Theodore II of Nicaea. The bronze nomisma in Sabatier, ii, p. 302, No. 2, Pl. 66. 8 (originally published by Sabatier in

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 62·7 | Æ ·85 | ΘЄOΔWPOCΔЄC on l.; AΓIOCΔIMI on r. | [Sale at Sotheby's, 20 Dec., &c., 1852, lot 169] | xxvi. 5 |
| 6 | 30·8 (*worn*) | Æ ·9 | (Inscr. illegible) [Doubleday purchase, 1849, 7-17-444] | (Inscr. as above, but written thus :— +ΘЄ OΔWPOC TOΠCЄΔ VOΔOCH [K]AC) | |

The numismatists who have published specimens of these coins have assigned them to Theodore II ('III') Ducas Lascaris, Emperor of Nicaea (see Marchant, *Lettres*, p. 357, No. 3 ; de Saulcy, *Essai de class.*, Pl. 31. 8 ; Sabatier, ii, p. 297, No. 7, Pl. 65. 8 ; Thomsen, *Cat.*, p. 67, No. 839). Preference should, however, perhaps, be given to Theodore Angelus Ducas of Thessalonica, partly on account of the presence of St. Demetrius, the patron saint of Thessalonica.

No one has commented on the curious fact that the *obv.* type (two busts and cross crosslet) and the *rev.* consisting entirely of an inscription are characteristic—at least so far as coins are concerned—of a considerably earlier age than the period of Theodore II (1254–1258) or even than that of Theodore Angelus (1222–1230). The latest occurrence on coins of types like these is, so far as I know, to be found under the Emperor Nicephorus III, Botaniates, A. D. 1078–1081 (B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 537, Pl. 63. 8), though a coin of Alexius III, A. D. 1195–1203 (B. M. C., *op. cit.*, Pl. 73. 13) has types of a not very dissimilar character. Judging from the types, then, we should expect our coins (Nos. 5, 6) to belong to some ruler of the eleventh or twelfth centuries rather than to one of the thirteenth century. Thus, the pretender Theodore Mankaphas (B. M. C., *op. cit.*, p. lxvi ; A. Meliaraki, Ἱστ. Βασ. Νικαίας, pp. 13, 23, 44) who struck coins (according to Niketas, *silver* coins) during his rebellion in 1189, and later, might conceivably have issued money with such types, but we have no reason to suppose that he assumed the surname Ducas which figures on our coins.

We are thrown back, then, on Theodore II Ducas Lascaris of Nicaea, and Theodore Angelus Ducas of Thessalonica, and, of the two, Theodore Angelus, as the earlier in date, is perhaps to be preferred ; and it has already been suggested that the Saint (Demetrius) is somewhat more appropriate for his coins than for those of Theodore II Ducas Lascaris.

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*Revue belge*, 1859, p. 320, Pl. 11. 10) attributed to this Theodore, is in the British Museum and is described, *infra*, among the coins of Theodore II of Nicaea.

If the reading of the name Theodore on the Æ published by Sestini, *Descriz. . . . Mus. Hedervariano*, 1830, iv, p. 118, No. 87 (cp. Sestini, *Descr. Num. Vet.*, p. 123, No. 113 = Mionnet, *Suppl.*, iii, p. 172, No. 1110), is to be relied on we should have a coin of Theodore resembling in its main details the coin of his successor Manuel described, *infra*, p. 198, No. 2, Pl. XXVI. 7, i. e. *obv.* the Emperor and St. Demetrius and the name of Thessalonica ΠOΛIC ; *rev.* St. Michael.

# MANUEL Angelus Comnenus Ducas

A.D. 1230–1232

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Silver Nomisma (Scyphate)**[1] | | |
| | | | Inscr. Manuel Angelus bearded, on l., and the Virgin, on r., standing facing. Manuel wears crown, mantle, tunic, and sash with stellate ornament, and holds in r. long cross, in l. volumen. The Virgin wears nimbus, veil (with •⁘•), tunic, and mantle, and with r. crowns the Emperor; l. on heart; above, MP; in field r., Θ̄V̄. Border. | Ī C X̄ C̄ Bust of Christ [bearded] facing; wears nimbus cruciger, mantle, and tunic, and holds in l. book of Gospels; r. in benediction. Border. | |
| 1 | 26·2 | Æ 1·05 | MANΘHΛΔЄCΠ (Some letters indistinct) double-struck. | [de Salis gift][2] | xxvi. 6 |

[1] The *gold* nomisma (*rev.* Christ seated) assigned by Sabatier (ii, p. 303, No. 1, Pl. 66. 9) to Manuel Angelus is probably a coin (silver gilt?) of Theodore I Lascaris, Emperor of Nicaea: see *infra* under 'Theodore I', p. 206, note 3.

[2] The identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 297, No. 9, Pl. 65. 10, who has assigned it to Theodore II ('III') Ducas, Emperor of Nicaea, reading on the *obv.* ΘЄOΔѠPOC (on l.) and ΔΘKAC (on r.). But of the word ΔΘKAC I cannot detect the slightest trace, nor can ΘЄOΔѠPOC be regarded as correct, for the first letter of the legend is certainly M or N. Though the letters are minute and blurred through double-striking the legend may, I think, be fairly read as MANΘHΛ (or MANOVΛ?) ΔЄCΠ. There is no legend on the right of the *obv.* except ΘV.

Cp. a bronze coin published by Baron de Koehne (*Rev. belge*, 1881, p. 351, Pl. 16. 20) with ΘЄOΔѠ . . . VKAC; but the reproduction does not seem very satisfactory.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Bronze Nomisma** | | |
| | | | Type 1 | | |
| | | | [MANΔHA ΔECTTO THC] [OAΓIOC ΔH MHTPIOC?] The Emperor Manuel (on l.) and St. Demetrius (on r.) seated facing on throne, holding between them, globus cruciger?; above, ΠΟΛ[IC] Θ€C[C] ΑΛΟ NIKI The Emperor wears crown, mantle, and robe, and holds in r. sceptre. St. Demetrius wears nimbus, robe, and mantle, and holds in r. sword? | St. Michael, the archangel, winged, standing facing; on l. and r. of head, X X ⁂; wears nimbus, short military tunic, and cloak; holds? | |
| 2 | 38· | Æ 1·15 | Concave; pressed flat. [Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | (Double-struck; and the whole coin perhaps re-struck on older types)[1] | xxvi. 7 |
| | | | Type 2 | | |
| | | | Inscr. The Emperor Manuel, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. long cross, in l. globus | IC XC Bust of Christ, beardless, facing; wears mantle and tunic, and nimbus cruciger with • in | |

[1] Cp. Sabatier, ii, p. 303, Nos. 3 and 4. Pl. 66. 11 and 12; Photiades, *Cat.*, No. 640; de Saulcy in *Rev. num.*, 1842, p. 416, Pl. 20. 1. According to de Saulcy (*l. c.*) the object held by the Emperor and the Saint is 'un édifice surmonté de trois tours', the ΠΟΛIC of Thessalonica. If Sestini's description may be relied on the type was initiated by Manuel's predecessor, Theodore (see under Theodore, note, p. 196, *supra*).

It may be mentioned that a representation of the *Civitas Thessalonicarum* occurs on a seal of Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat; Schlumberger, *Mélanges d'arch.*, i, p. 57.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | cruciger; wears crown, tunic, sash, and mantle. Border of dots. | limbs of cross; r. hand blessing; l. holds book of Gospels. Border of dots.[1] | |
| 3 | 46· | Æ 1·05 | MANVHΛΔ (rest of inscr. obliterated) ⁘ on sash. Concave. | [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-551] | xxvi. 8 |
| 4 | 54· | Æ 1·15 | MAN•VHΛ Δ . . ΠΤ . . . . ✕ on sash. Concave. | [de Salis gift][2] | xxvi. 9 |
| | | | Type 3 | | |
| | | | MANϑHΛΔЄCΠ OA [ΔHMHTPIOC ?] The Emperor Manuel (on l.) and St. Demetrius? (on r.) standing facing, holding between them globus cruciger? The Emperor wears crown, tunic, and sash with ✕, and holds in r. long cross. The Saint wears nimbus, long robe, and mantle, and holds in l. long cross. Border of dots. | Bust of the Virgin facing, *orans*; wears nimbus, veil, tunic, and mantle; ⁘ on drapery; in field, M͞P and [Θ͞V]. Border of dots.[3] | |
| 5 | 30·7 (*pierced*) | Æ 1· | Concave. | | xxvi. 10 |

[1] Similar to Photiades, *Cat.*, No. 639, where also another coin is described apparently with *rev.* St. Michael. Their rough style differentiates our coins from those of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I, A.D. 1143–1180.

[2] The identical specimen described and figured by Sabatier, ii, p. 303, No. 2, Pl. 66. 10.

[3] The style of this coin, especially of its *rev.*, seems more suitable to Manuel than to his namesake the Byzantine Emperor (Manuel I).

Photiades, *Cat.* (No. 641), further attributes to Manuel a scyphate bronze coin: *obv.* The Emperor standing crowned by 'un ange' [St. Michael]; *rev.* The Virgin seated facing. The *obv.* inscr. is MANϑHΛ ΔЄCΠ.

## JOHN Angelus

Emperor, 1232–1243; *ob.* 1244. Despot of Thessalonica, 1244.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Bronze Nomisma** | | |
| | | | ΙW ΔЄC The Emperor John (on l.) and Christ (on r.) standing facing. Christ wears nimbus (on l. and r. of which, $\overline{IC}$ and $\overline{XC}$), mantle, and tunic; his r. hand blesses the Emperor; in his l. is the book of the Gospels. The Emperor wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., labarum; in l., globus cruciger. Border of dots. | M X St. Michael, winged, standing facing; wears nimbus and military dress; in r., sceptre; in l., globus cruciger. Border of dots. | |
| | | | Æ. Concave nomisma. Size, 1·05 inch. Described by Sabatier, ii, p. 306, No. 2, Pl. 67. 2. | | |

This attribution of Sabatier's may be correct; at any rate, the style of the *rev.* seems not unsuitable to Thessalonica, and the coin does not appear to be of John II Comnenus, the Byzantine Emperor. (John I Angelus, Duke and Sebastocrator of Neopatras, might also perhaps claim the coin.) But the *gold* nomisma assigned by Sabatier (ii, p. 305, No. 1, Pl. 67. 1) and other numismatists to John Angelus is much better given to John II Comnenus. Again, the small bronze coin (not a nomisma) with *rev.* Bust of St. Demetrius, assigned by Sabatier (ii, p. 306, No. 3, Pl. 67. 3) to John Angelus is more likely, judging from style and fabric, to be of John II Comnenus.

In addition to the concave bronze nomisma above described (Sabatier, Pl. 67. 2) there is another 'petit bronze concave' described in the Photiades *Cat.*, No. 644, which may perhaps belong to John Angelus:—

*Obv.* ΙWΑΝΝΗC ΔЄCΠΟΤΗC L'Empereur debout.

*Rev.* ΟΑΓΗΟC (*sic*) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟC Saint Démétrius debout.

With regard to Nos. 645 and 646, attributed in the Photiades *Cat.* to John Angelus, it is difficult to judge.

It may be convenient to state here that the British Museum specimen of the bronze nomisma referred to in B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 613 n. (= Sabatier, ii, p. 244, No. 15, Pl. 59. 16), as having been assigned, perhaps by de Salis, to John Angelus of Thessalonica, is a very curious piece. It seems to be cast and perhaps tooled (so also a specimen in the Windisch-Grätz *Cat.*, No. 337), but if not an ancient coin it no doubt reproduces an ancient original. It was presented to the British Museum by Count de Salis.

I cannot find any decisive reason for attributing it to John Angelus, though the rude style of the *rev.* (Bust of the Virgin) and the choice of the Saint (apparently Demetrius) might suit the Thessalonica mint. The coin seems to me to read on *obv.* MI (Michael?) and IMIT (St. Demetrius?). Sabatier thought MI must indicate Michael VIII Palaeologus, A. D. 1261–1282, but the coin does not at all harmonize with the known money of that Emperor.

# DEMETRIUS

Despot of Thessalonica, A. D. 1244–1246

No coins bearing his name are known; but see below.

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# COINAGE OF THESSALONICA?

Under **JOHN Angelus** (Despot), 1243–1244

and

**DEMETRIUS** (Despot), 1244–1246

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Bronze Nomisma** | | |
| | | | (Concave; flans of irregular shape) | | |
| | | | X X[1] A M St. Michael, the archangel, winged, standing facing; wears nimbus and military dress, and holds in r. trifid sceptre, in l. globus cruciger. Border of dots. | Bust of Christ, beardless, facing; wears nimbus cruciger with pellet in each limb of cross, mantle, and tunic; r. hand in blessing; l. holds book of Gospels; in field, $\overline{IC}$ and $\overline{XC}$. Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 56· | Æ 1·1 | [de Salis gift] | | xxvii. 1 |
| 2 | 50·3 | Æ 1·05 | [de Salis gift] | (Double-struck) | xxvii. 2 |
| 3 | 38·5 | Æ 1·05 | [de Salis gift] | (Double-struck) | xxvii. 3 |

[1] For APX. MIX. (Cp. B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 597, Nos. 44–7, and p. 595, No. 37.) The letters are seldom completely legible.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 51·4 | Æ 1· | [Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | | xxvii. 4 |
| 5 | 51·1 | Æ ·95 | [de Salis gift] | | xxvii. 5 |
| 6 | 44· | Æ ·9 | [Northwick coll., 1860] | | xxvii. 6 |
| 7 | 19· (*clipped*) | Æ ·7 | [de Salis gift] | | xxvii. 7 |

I found these coins classified in the British Museum series of Thessalonica, probably by Count de Salis, who presented five specimens to the collection. I am not aware if there is any evidence as to provenance, but fabric and style, and especially the resemblance of the reverse to the reverse of Manuel Angelus (Nos. 3, 4, *supra*, Pl. XXVI. 8, 9), render the attribution at least plausible.

The coins do not bear the name of the issuer, but if of Thessalonica they would probably have been minted in the city by the despot John Angelus during 1243–1244 (that is, after he had renounced (A.D. 1243) the title of Emperor, under pressure from the Emperor of Nicaea, John I ('III') Vatatzes), and by his successor the weak Demetrius (1244–1246) whose rule did not extend beyond the city and who was eventually dethroned by the Nicaean Emperor.

Sabatier, Pl. 58. 7, is evidently of the same class as our Nos. 1–7. Sabatier has attributed it to Isaac II Angelus, the Byzantine Emperor, A.D. 1185–1195 (first reign), but the style and fabric seem to me to be later than Isaac's time. There is, however, another bronze nomisma with similar, but not identical, types which may fairly be assigned to Isaac II: see B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 595, No. 37, Pl. LXXII. 9.

# VI.

# COINS OF THE EMPIRE OF NICAEA

A. D. 1204–1261

## THEODORE I Lascaris

1204–1222

(crowned, 1206)

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Gold Nomisma (Scyphate)** | | |
| | | | ΘЄ[O]ΔWPOC ΔЄC ΠΠ Ѡ ΠΦ[Y?]POΓЄ Theodore I, bearded, on l., and the Virgin on r., standing facing. The Virgin wears nimbus, veil, mantle, and tunic, and with her r. hand crowns the Emperor; l. hand in benediction. The Emperor wears crown, tunic, mantle, and scarf, and holds in r. labarum, in l. sword in sheath. Above, M͞P; in field r., ΘV. Border. | IC XC Christ, bearded, seated facing on throne without back; wears nimbus, mantle, and tunic, and holds in l. book of the Gospels; r. hand in benediction; above throne, r. and l., Γ and Γ. | |
| | | | *Æ*. Size, 1·05 inch. Rollin in *Rev. num.*, 1841, p. 172, Pl. VIII. Cf. Sabatier, ii, p. 295, Nos. 1, 2, 3, assigned to Theodore 'III' (= II). No. 3, according | | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | to Sabatier, reads ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟC ΔΣK ΔΕCΠΟ THC, a reading which may be suspected, and in any case he is in error in stating that a coin with this reading exists in the British Museum. Photiades, *Cat.*, No. 628, is stated to be like Sabatier, No. 1, Pl. 65. 2. | | |

This coin was found at Brusa (Prusa Bithyniae), as were other gold nomismata which there is reason to think are issues of the Nicaean Emperors (see Rollin's account of the find in *Rev. num.*, 1841, pp. 171–6; cp. *R. N.*, 1863, p. 459 n.). I follow the reading and attribution of Rollin, but the title 'Porphyrogenitus' is strange, because Theodore I was not of the Imperial stock, though he had, it is true, married a daughter of the Emperor Alexius III. This title was, however, inscribed on the gold coins of Theodore's successor, John I Vatatzes.

The issue of a gold coinage by Theodore I is apparently implied in an agreement made in 1219 between Tiepolo, Venetian podestà at Constantinople, and Theodore I not to strike any gold or silver coins in imitation of one another (see Schlumberger, *Num. de l'Orient lat.*, pp. 275, 276).

Rollin (*op. cit.*, p. 172) further attributes to Theodore I the gold nomismata with Ο ΛΑCΚΑΡΙC, which I have assigned in this work to Theodore II (see Pl. XXXI. 6, 7). My reasons for the attribution are (i) that it is unlikely that Theodore I would use on his gold coins two distinct legends, viz. the simple name 'Lascaris' and the title 'Porphyrogenitus'; (ii) that if these coins are assigned to Theodore I, Theodore II will remain unprovided with a gold coinage, unless, indeed, we may trust the reading (ΔVKA Ο ΛΑCΚΑΡΙ) of the coin which Rollin (p. 174) has assigned to Theodore II, a reading which seems to me open to doubt; (iii) these coins in their style and fabric (rather thick) seem to be later than John I ('III') Vatatzes, i.e. they must belong to the second and not to the first Theodore; (iv) as has already been pointed out by Borrell (*Num. Chron.*, iv, 1841, p. 17), these coins with Ο ΛΑCΚΑΡΙC are much alloyed and must therefore be placed later than John I ('III') Vatatzes, who (according to Pachymeres) first considerably debased the gold coinage, i.e. they must be assigned to John's successor, Theodore II, and not to John's predecessor, Theodore I.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Silver Nomisma** (Scyphate) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Theodore I, bearded, on l., and St. Theodore, bearded, on r., standing facing, holding between them long cross with X. The Emperor wears crown, mantle, tunic, and sash with stellate ornament, and holds in r. sheathed sword. St. Theodore wears nimbus, military cloak, and cuirass, and holds in l. sheathed sword. Double border. | Christ, bearded, seated facing on throne with back, above which, IC and XC; he wears nimbus cruciger with •, mantle, and tunic, and holds in l. book of Gospels. | |
| 1 | 45·2 | Æ 1·15 | Inscr. obliterated, except C O [H. P. Borrell] | Legs of throne with crooked ornament, as on coins of John I Vatatzes (Pl. XXX. 2, 4, 5).[1] | xxviii. 1 |
| | | Æ 1·2 (*pierced*) | [Θ]ЄΟΔWΡΔЄC ΠΟ Θ..... | | xxviii. 2 |
| | | | In the collection of Professor C. W. Oman, Oxford[2] | | |
| | 68· | Æ 1·3 (*gilt*) | ..... ΔЄCΠ T Θ\ ΘЄΟΔWΡΟC ; (head of cross varied, with circular ornament) | (Two borders of dots) | xxviii. 3 |
| | | | Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. De Foville in *Rev. num.*, 1904, p. 107=B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 571, Pl. LXIX. 9.[3] | | |

[1] The identical specimen described and figured (*obv.* only) by Sabatier, ii, p. 297, No. 6, Pl. 65. 7. Cp. Sale *Cat.* of Consul E. F. Weber coll.; München (Hirsch, No. xxiv), 1909, lot 3342; cp. lot 3343.

[2] Prof. Oman has kindly permitted the publication of this coin, which furnishes valuable testimony as to the issuer's name. It is possible that the issuer may have been Theodore II of Nicaea, but I rather incline to Theodore I, partly because the St. Theodore type seems especially to belong to him, as shown by his billon and bronze coins. In the *obv.* inscr. P is nearly I, and Є in ΔЄC is confused.

[3] M. de Foville, *l. c.*, attributed this specimen to Manuel I Comnenus (A. D. 1143–1180), relying mainly on a coin of similar type, stated by Sabatier (ii, p. 303, No. 1, Pl. 66. 9) to be of gold and to read MANOVHΛ. This 'Manuel' coin, formerly in the

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Billon Nomisma** (Scyphate) | | |
| | | | [ΘЄΟΔWΡΟC on l.; Ο ΘЄΟΔWΡΟS on r.[1]]. Theodore I and St. Theodore, both bearded, standing facing, holding patriarchal cross. The Emperor wears crown and long tunic, and holds in r. labarum. St. Theodore wears nimbus and military dress, and holds in l. spear.[2] Double border. | M͞P Θ͞V The Virgin, holding the infant Christ, seated facing on throne; she wears nimbus, veil, mantle, and tunic; the throne is without back, and is decorated with squares and pellets. | |
| 2 | 64·6 | Billon 1·1 | (Traces of inscr. on r.) | Double-struck. [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-470] | xxviii. 4 |
| 3 | 54·5 | Billon 1·1 | (Traces of inscr. on l. and r.); double-struck. | Double-struck. [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-448] | xxviii. 5 |
| | | | **Bronze Nomisma** (Scyphate) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Theodore I and St. Theodore, both bearded, standing facing, holding patriarchal cross. The Emperor wears crown, tunic, and sash, and holds in | M͞P Θ͞V The Virgin, holding the infant Christ, seated facing on throne; she wears nimbus, veil, mantle, and tunic; the throne is without back, and is decorated with | |

Hoffmann collection, is not now forthcoming, and Sabatier's testimony as to the reading of the issuer's name can hardly be accepted without corroboration. Prof. Oman's coin (Pl. XXVIII. 2) renders it almost certain that the name should be read 'Theodore', and fabric and style point in the direction of Nicaea.

[1] Cf. *Revue belge*, 1858, p. 275, No. 2, Pl. XV. 12, with ΘЄΟΔ(ω) on l. The types, and no doubt the inscriptions, are as on the bronze nomisma (Nos. 4–11).

[2] For a seal attributed to Theodore I see *Journal international d'arch. num.*, Athens, 1903, p. 4, and Schlumberger, *Mél. d'arch. byz.*, i, p. 238: *Obv.* St. Theodore standing with spear and shield. *Rev.* ΘЄΟΔWΡΟΝ [ΛΑ]ϹΚΑΡΙΝ ΤΟ[Ν] [ΒΑ]ϹΙΛЄΑ, &c.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | r. labarum. St. Theodore wears nimbus and military dress, and holds in l. spear. Double border. | squares and pellets. Double border. | |
| 4 | 55·3 | Æ 1·15 | Traces of inscr. on r. | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1106; found in Cyprus[1]] | xxviii. 6 |
| 5 | 59·5 | Æ 1·2 | Θ€OΛ.... O-Θ€O Δ....[2] | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1106; found in Cyprus] | xxviii. 7 |
| 6 | 50·5 | Æ 1·1 | Inscr. nearly obliterated. | Double-struck. [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1106; found in Cyprus] | xxviii. 8 |
| 7 | 55·4 | Æ 1·05 | .OΔWPOC; rest of inscr. obliterated. (Emperor holds in r. cross instead of labarum) (single border) | Type blurred through mis-striking. [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1106; found in Cyprus] | xxviii. 9 |
| 8 | 62. | Æ 1·15 | Traces of inscr. on r. (cross? instead of labarum) (single border) | Double-struck. [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1106; found in Cyprus] | |
| 9 | 50·5 | Æ 1·1 | Traces of inscr. on r. | [de Salis gift] | |

[1] Lot 1106, acquired by the British Museum, consisted of 'five extremely fine and patinated varieties of an unpublished type, all concave; found in Cyprus'. In the sale catalogue they are attributed to the rebel 'Emperor' Theodore Mankaphas (A.D. 1189 and later: cp. B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. lxvi). The attribution has nothing much to recommend it, and the seat of the short-lived power of Mankaphas was at Philadelphia. No doubt, however, coins are needed for Mankaphas, and are probably to be found among some of the pieces that it is customary to assign to the Theodores of Nicaea and Thessalonica (cp. also under Theodore Angelus of Thessalonica, bronze coin, Pl. XXVI. 5, p. 196, No. 5, *supra*).

[2] This, judging from the shape of the flan, is the identical specimen figured by Sabatier, ii, p. 298, No. 12. Pl. 65. 13, who has, however, misread the clear O Θ€OΔ.... as O ΑΓΙOCΔ.... and described the saint as Demetrius. For another apparent variety of the legend see Photiades, *Cat.*, No. 637.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | 70. | Æ 1·15 | (On l., O-Θ-ЄOΔWP and the figure of St. Theodore upside down; on r., O-Θ-ЄO.. and the figure of St. Theodore : through mis-striking, the figure of the Emperor and the patriarchal cross do not appear) (single border) | (ΘV) Type partly blurred through mis-striking. [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-569] | xxix. 1 |
| 11 | 64·6 (*pierced*) | Æ 1·15 (*flattened*) | ΘЄOΔW POC O.... ....Type double-struck, so that each figure appears to hold a patriarchal cross. | Type blurred through mis-striking. [de Salis gift] | xxix. 2 |

# JOHN I ('III')

Ducas Vatatzes

1222—30 Oct. 1254

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Gold Nomisma** (scyphate) | | |
| | | | Inscr. On l., John I, bearded, standing facing, crowned by the Virgin, who stands on r., facing; above, MΗΡ (or M͞Η͞Ρ or M); in field r., Θ̄V̄ (or Θ̄V̄). John wears crown, tunic, sash, and mantle, and holds in r. labarum, in l. sword in sheath. The Virgin wears nimbus, veil, tunic, and mantle; ⁘ on drapery; l. hand in benediction. Double border of dots. | Christ, bearded, seated facing on throne without back; in l., book of Gospels; r. outstretched in benediction; wears tunic, mantle, and nimbus cruciger, with • in limbs of cross; above, Ī C̄ and X̄ C̄. Double border of dots (sometimes not visible). | |
| 1 | 66·6 | *Æ* 1·05 | Ī ω̄<br>ΔΕϹ Ω (= τῷ)<br>ΠΟ/ Π<br>Τ Ρ<br>Η Φ<br>Double-struck. | On seat of throne, r. and l., +. Double-struck.<br>[C. A. Murray, 1849] | xxix. 3 |
| 2 | 57·6 | *Æ* ·95 | Ī ω̄ Ω<br>ΔΕ Π<br>ϹΠ Ρ<br>Ο V<br>[Φ] | On seat of throne, r. and l., +<br>[C. A. Murray, 1849] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 61·8 | *AV* 1·05 | [Ι]ϖ ϖ<br>[Δ]ϵ Π<br>ϹΠ Ρ<br>Ο V<br>Φ | On seat of throne, r. and l., +<br>[C. A. Murray, 1849] | |
| 4 | 69·5 | *AV* 1·1 | Ιϖ ϖ<br>Δϵ Π<br>Ɔ [Φ?] | On seat of throne, r. and l., +<br>[C. A. Murray, 1849] | |
| 5 | 64·2 | *AV* 1·1 | Τ<br>Ιϖ Π<br>.ϵϹ [Ο?]<br>ΠΟ Φ<br>[Τ?] [Ρ?] | On seat of throne, l. [and r. ?], + | xxix. 4 |
| 6 | 62· | *AR* 1·05 (*formerly plated*) | [Ι]ω ϖ<br>.ϵϹ Π<br>Φ<br>[Γ?] | On seat of throne, r. and l., +<br>[Purchased, 1904, 4-3-27] | |
| 7 | 65·7 | *AV* 1·15 | [Ι]ϖ ϖ<br>..Ϲ Π<br>. Φ<br>ΡΟ<br>Γ | Above seat of throne, r., ⁘ (⁘ instead of • in cross)<br>[C. A. Murray, 1849] | xxix. 5 |
| 8 | 71·4 | *AV* 1·1 | [Ι]ϖ ϖ<br>[Δ]ϵϹ Π<br>[Π]Ο Φ<br>[Τ] Ρ<br>Γ<br>. | Above seat of throne, r., ⁘ (⁘ instead of • in cross)<br>[C. A. Murray, 1849] | |
| 9 | 64·4 | *AV* ·95 | (Legend obscure and blundered)<br>.V Γ<br>.Ϲ? .? | Above seat of throne, r., [•?] ⁘<br>[Presented by Mr. J. T. Wood (the explorer of Ephesus), 1874] | |
| 10 | 69· | *AV* 1·05 | Ιω ϖ<br>.ϵ ΠΡ<br>ΠΟ Φ<br>Τ V | Above seat of throne, r. and l., • | |
| 11 | 66·7 (*pierced*) | *AV* 1·05 | (Inscr. obliterated) | Above seat of throne, r. and l., •. Double-struck.<br>[C. A. Murray, 1849] | xxix. 6 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | 70·2 | *AV* 1·1 | [I]Ꞷ Ꞩ<br>Π<br>ΔЄC P<br>ΠO VP<br>T O<br>H Γ | [C. A. Murray, 1849] | |
| 13 | 73·3 | *AV* 1·1 (*flattened*) | IꞶ (Ꞩ blundered)<br>ΔЄC Π<br>Π• Φ<br>٦ P<br>. Γ<br>(Pressed flat) | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 971] | xxix. 7 |
| 14 | 64·8 | *AV* 1·05 | [I]Ꞷ Ꞩ<br>.ЄC Π<br>.. Φ<br>. V<br>P<br>Γ<br>(One border, linear only ?) | Double-struck. [Royal coll.] | |
| 15 | 67·6 | *AV* 1· | [I]Ꞷ Ꞩ<br>.ЄC Π<br>Π• Φ<br>T .<br>(One border only ?) | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 972] | |
| 16 | 62·1 (*pierced*) | *AV* 1·2 | (MI for M͞P)<br>IꞶ Ꞩ<br>.ЄC (blurred) Π<br>.. Φ<br>. P<br>Γ | Double-struck. [Purchased, 1905, 4-8-27] | xxix. 8 |
| 17 | 65· | *AV* ·95 | [I]Ꞷ Ꞩ<br>..C Π<br>.. Φ<br>(Border obliterated)<br>(On *obv.*, graffito X; on *rev.*, graffito IꞶ) | Above seat of throne, on l., Δ, on r., P | |
| 18 | 67·2 | *AV* 1·1 | [I]Ꞷ Ꞩ (M͞P blun-<br>ΔЄC Π dered)<br>Π •<br>C Φ<br>I<br>Γ•<br>•C<br>• | [Blacas, 1867] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | 65·6 (*pierced*) | *AV* 1· (*flattened*) | (⁘ for ΜΡ; V̄ for ΘV̄) [IW] ЄC [Π] Φ P | [Colonel De Bosset] | |
| | | | (Pressed flat) | | |
| 20 | 69·8 | *AV* 1·1 | (Θ for ΜΡ; ΘV omitted) [I]W̄ T Δ.C Π ΠO Φ T P | (⁘ for • in cross) [C. A. Murray, 1849] | |
| 21 | 46·2 (*pierced*) | *Æ* 1· (*gilt*) | IW̄ ω ΔЄC Π ΠO Φ T | (Ancient forgery?) [Royal coll.] | |
| 22 | 65·9 (*pierced*) | *AV* 1·05 | Inscr. on l., blurred; on r., ω Π Φ | Double-struck. [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-481] | |
| 23 | 73·3 | *AV* 1·05 | .ω .Є . . [T? Π Φ P] (One border only) | (One border only) [Townshend coll.] | |
| 24 | 61·9 | *AV* 1·05 | .ω .. . . ω Π (One border only) Φ [P] | Double-struck; above throne, r., • [Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | |

Nos. 1–21 have already been described in B. M. C., *Imperial Byzantine Coins* (pp. 557 ff., Nos. 20–40), where they are attributed to the Constantinopolitan Emperor John II Comnenus, A.D. 1118–1143. The main argument in favour of that attribution was the presence on them of the epithet 'Porphyrogenitus', an epithet which is found on the indisputable coins of John II (such as B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, Pl. LXVII. 11), and which is not known—at least from literature—to have been borne by any other emperor named John.

In spite, however, of this consideration, I am now convinced by the arguments of Rollin (*Revue numismatique*, 1841, vol. vi, pp. 173 f.) and H. P. Borrell (*Num. Chron.*, iv, 1841, p. 18) that, on grounds of style, fabric, and provenance, the coins belong to John I Vatatzes of Nicaea.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (i) The most convincing evidence in favour of the attribution of Nos. 1–24 to John I is obtained by comparing them with the gold nomismata of Theodore II of Nicaea (Pl. XXXI. 6–7), which last-named coins (whether they are really of Theodore II or, as is possibly the case, of Theodore I) are beyond all question the issues of a Nicaean Emperor, for they bear the surname Ο ΛΑϹΚΑΡΙϹ.<br>(ii) Although in type and general appearance (especially the seated Christ of the *rev.*) Nos. 1–24 bear not a little resemblance to the gold nomismata of John II, it will be found on a minute examination that there are differences in several details, and that, in point of style, the coins of John II the Byzantine are of more careful workmanship and design than those which we here transfer to John I the Nicaean. The coins, moreover, indicate a difference of alloy which the eye can easily detect; thus, it can be seen that several of the coins assigned to John I are of a brownish hue (betraying the presence of copper), while those of John II are yellow or orange.<br>(iii) A hoard of nearly 1000 gold coins, discovered near Smyrna and described by H. P. Borrell (*Num. Chron.*, iv, 1841, p. 18), consisted almost entirely of coins of 'John' (like our Nos. 1–24) mixed with a few of Theodore II of Nicaea and a few of Michael VIII Palaeologus, the latest emperor of Nicaea. Now, the coins of Theodore II and Michael VIII cover (approximately) the period A. D. 1254–1282, and (as Mr. Borrell has already observed) it is highly probable that the 'John' of this hoard is the predecessor of Theodore II, namely John I Vatatzes (A. D. 1222–1254), and not the Emperor John II Comnenus who had reigned so long before as A. D. 1118–1143. A less important piece of evidence from provenance is the finding of a coin resembling our Nos. 1–24 at Brusa in Bithynia, together (apparently) with other gold coins of Nicaean emperors (see *Rev. num.*, 1841, vi, pp. 172 f.).<br>(iv) The transference of our Nos. 1–24 from John II to John I offers the advantage of relieving the former of a somewhat superabundant coinage in gold and of providing the latter with a currency in a metal that there are good historical grounds for believing him to have employed. Thus, Pachymeres (vol. ii, p. 493, ed. Bonn; cp. Finlay, *Hist. Greece*, iii, p. 320) clearly testifies to the issue | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | of gold coins by John I, though he tells us that only two parts were of the pure metal, the rest being alloy. Cp. p. 214 (ii), *supra*.<br>(v) The arguments above suggested (i, ii, iii, iv) seem to me to be much weightier than any that can be based on the inscription 'Porphyrogenitus'. John I had, indeed, no right to such a title, for he was not the son of the preceding emperor (Theodore I), with whom he was only connected through having married his daughter Irene (cp. Pappadopoulos, *Théodore II Lascaris*, p. 4). Yet it is not inconceivable that John, in his position of assertor, against foreign and other rivals, of the claims of the ancient empire, took such a title as Porphyrogenitus, and there is reason to suppose that it had already been assumed by Theodore I (see the gold coin assigned to Theodore I, *supra*, p. 204). The high pretensions of John are, moreover, apparent in the inscription of a seal which, according to Schlumberger (*Sigillogr.*, pp. 428, 429), should be assigned to him rather than to John I of Neopatras: СΦРАГІС СЄВАСТОV ІѠАNNѲ ТѲ ΔѲКА PIZAN ГЄNOVC ЄXONTOC ЄК BACIΛЄѠN.<br>It may perhaps be added that among the gold coins assigned to John II Comnenus in B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, pp. 559 f., are certain other specimens which may seem to have some claim to be transferred to John I Vatatzes: these are Nos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 15–19. But I believe, after careful consideration, that they are best left—as at present—to John II. | | |
| | | | **Silver Nomisma** (scyphate)<br>Type 1 | | |
| | | | Inscr. John I (on l.) and St. Constantine (on r.) standing facing, holding between them patriarchal cross with X on its upper shaft. The Emperor is bearded, and wears crown, tunic, and sash with stellate ornament: he holds | Christ, bearded, seated facing on throne with back; in l., book of Gospels; wears tunic, mantle, and nimbus cruciger, with • in limbs of cross; above, IC and XC. Linear border. | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | in r., plain cross. The Saint is bearded, and wears nimbus, crown, tunic, and sash, the two latter being richly ornamented, but varying from the dress of the Emperor; he holds in l. sword in sheath (?). Linear border. | | |
| 25 | 41·6 | Æ 1·4 | ΙϢΔЄ[C]ΠΟΤ[H?] (on l.) Ο/ΚϢΤΛΝ ΤΙΝ (on r.) | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1035[1]] | xxx. 1 |
| | | | Type 2 | | |
| | | | Inscr. John I (on l.), bearded, and the Christ of Chalce, bearded (on r.), standing facing. The Emperor wears crown, tunic, mantle, and sash with stellate ornament, and holds in r. labarum, in l. globus cruciger. Christ wears nimbus cruciger (with • in cross), mantle, and tunic, and with r. hand crowns the Emperor, holding in l. hand book of Gospels. Double linear border. | The Virgin, seated facing on throne with back, holding infant Christ; she wears nimbus, veil, tunic, and mantle, with •⁘• ornament; above, M̄Ṟ and Θ̄V̄; legs of throne with crooked ornament. Linear border.[2] | |
| 26 | 50·7 | Æ 1·3 | ΙϢΔ[ЄCΠΟΤΗ?]C IC X̄ [ΧΑΛ]ΚΙΤΗC | [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-28] | xxx. 2 |

[1] This coin (like Nos. 26–9, *infra*) is of spread, thin fabric, and somewhat resembles a large bracteate (No. 1 of Theodore I, *supra*, has a very similar fabric). It is the identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 296, No. 5, Pl. 65. 6, who has entirely misread the legend as ΘЄΟΔϢ.....Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ and assigned the coin to Theodore 'III' (=II) of Nicaea.

St. Constantine is also represented on the coins of Alexius III (A.D. 1195–1203) standing beside the Emperor: see B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, pp. 599–604.

[2] Nos. 26–9 have the same bracteate-like appearance as No. 25. As to the Christ of Chalce see Dumont in *Rev. num.*, 1867, p. 199, &c.; Schlumberger, *L'Épop. byz.*, i, pp. 80,

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27 | 48·8 | Æ 1·3 | IWΔЄCΠOTI IC<br>X̄ (rest obliterated) | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1032] | xxx. 3 |
| 28 | 49·1 (*chipped*) | Æ 1·3 | IWΔЄCΠOTHI ĪC<br>X̄C [O ?]XΛΛKITIC | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1029] | xxx. 4 |
| 29 | 47·3 (*chipped*) | Æ 1·25 | IW....OTI IC<br>X̄C XΛΛKITIC | [de Salis gift][1] | xxx. 5 |
| | | | **Bronze Nomisma (scyphate)**<br>Type 1 | | |
| | | | Inscr. John I, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum, in l. sword in sheath; wears crown, mantle, tunic, and sash with stellate ornament. Double linear border. | Inscr. Christ of Chalce, bearded, standing facing, holding in l. book of Gospels; wears nimbus cruciger (with • in cross), tunic, and mantle. Linear border. | |
| 30 | 46·4 | Æ 1·2 | [I]W̄ O<br>[ΔЄ]C Δ<br>ϑ<br>[Π ?]<br>[T] KΛ<br>C | X KI<br>[Λ]Λ TH; above, [IC] and X̄C<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1109][2] | xxx. 6 |

83; cp. B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, pp. 545 n., 599, 600. Dumont (*op. cit.*, p. 195; cp. Photiades, *Cat.*, No. 676) has suggested that a silver scyphate coin in the Photiades collection with *obv.* the Christ of Chalce, IC XC O XAΛKHTHC, *rev.* the Virgin standing, belongs to the reign of John 'III' (= I) Vatatzes (cp. the *rev.* of No. 29, *infra* (Christ of Chalce). The attribution seems probable, but no issuer's name appears upon the coin.

With the type of the Virgin on Nos. 26–9 compare coins of Isaac II, B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, Pl. LXXI. 17.

[1] The coin in Sabatier, ii, p. 198, No. 8, Pl. 53. 18, of the same type as our Nos. 26–9, has evidently been misread and wrongly attributed to the Emperor John II Comnenus.

[2] This is the identical specimen published by Sabatier, Pl. 64. 10, ii, p. 293, No. 4, but he has misread O ΔϑKAC as O ΔЄCΠOTHC and not deciphered the *rev.* inscr. On the Christ of Chalce see p. 216 n., *supra*.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Type 2** | | |
| | | | Inscr. John I, bearded, seated facing on throne with back, holding in r. cruciform sceptre; in l. globus cruciger; wears crown and tunic. Double linear border. | Ⓐ ϷI<br>ΔH<br>M ƨ<br>I<br>St. Demetrius, wearing nimbus and military dress, standing facing; holds in r. spear; l. rests on kite-shaped shield. Linear border. | |
| 31 | 61·2 | Æ 1·2 | IW ΔЄCΠ OΔϑ KA. (double-struck) | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1111[1]] | xxx. 7 |
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | **Type 1** | | |
| | | | Inscr. John I, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic, and mantle. Border of dots. | Head of seraph, with two wings[2]; on each side, ⁘ Border of dots. | |
| 32 | 29·3 | Æ ·75 | IW O<br>Δ ϑ<br>Є<br>C | [de Salis gift] | xxx. 8 |
| 33 | 32·5 | Æ ·85 | IW O<br>Δ<br>ϑ | [de Salis gift] | xxxi. 1 |

[1] The identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 298, No. 10, Pl. 65. 11 (cp. Photiades, *Cat.*, No. 633[b]), who has strangely read the *obv.* legend as ΘЄOΔOP ΔЄCΠ and assigned the coin to Theodore 'III' (= II) of Nicaea.

[2] Contrast the seraph-head on coins of Andronicus II and Michael IX; B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 623, No. 32, Pl. LXXV. 10. The specimen described by Rauch and Friedlaender (in Koehne's *Zeitschrift für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* (Berlin), ii, 1842, p. 203, Pl. VI. 17 = de Saulcy in *Rev. num.*, 1842, p. 416, Pl. XIX. 8) as having on the *rev.* a vine-leaf or a shield is really of the seraph-type.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 34 | 27·9 | Æ ·65 | .. O<br>Δ<br>ϐ | [de Salis gift] | |
| 35 | 27·5 | Æ ·75 | IC O<br>Δ<br>EC<br>ΠO<br>TI | [de Salis gift] | |
| | | | Type 2 | | |
| | | | Inscr. John I, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum, in l. sword in sheath; wears crown, mantle, tunic, and sash. Border of dots. | Ⓐ Bust of St. George, beardless, facing; hair curly; wears nimbus, cuirass, and cloak, and holds in r. spear, in l. shield.[1] Border of dots. | |
| 36 | 33·2 | Æ ·8 | .C OΔϐ<br>.E K<br>C A<br>S | [Northwick sale, 1860] | xxxi. 2 |
| 37 | 49·8 | Æ ·75 | IC O<br>ΔEC Δ<br>ΠO ϐ<br>H .<br>.<br>. | [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-471] | xxxi. 3 |
| 38 | 34·4 | Æ ·85 | IC O<br>ΔE Δ<br>ΠO ϐ<br>T K<br>H A<br>. | [de Salis gift] | xxxi. 4 |
| 39 | 30·3 | Æ ·65 | .C O<br>ΔE Δϐ<br>C K<br>ΠO A<br>C | (A for A)<br>[de Salis gift] | xxxi. 5 |

[1] With this type of St. George on coins cp. B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 587, Nos. 19, 20; p. 606, No. 43.

To types 1 and 2 of the bronze coinage should be added the following: *Obv.* IC ΔEC O ΔϐKAC. The Emperor standing. *Rev.* Four interlaced bands. Thomsen, *Cat.*, No. 836; Sabatier, Pl. 64. 11 and 12; de Saulcy in *Rev. num.*, 1842, p. 416, Pl. XIX. 7.

# THEODORE II Ducas Lascaris

1254—Aug. 1258

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Gold Nomisma (scyphate)** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Theodore II, bearded, on l., and the Virgin, on r., standing facing. The Virgin wears nimbus, veil, mantle, and tunic, and with her r. hand crowns the Emperor; her l. hand in benediction. The Emperor wears crown, tunic, mantle, and sash; holds in r. labarum, in l. sword in sheath; above, ΜΡ; in field r., ΘV. Double linear border. | ΙC XC Christ, bearded, seated facing on throne without back; wears nimbus, mantle, and tunic, and holds in l. book of Gospels; r. hand in benediction. Linear border. | |
| 1 | 66·3 | *AV* 1· | ΘЄ ΠΟ<br>ΟΔШ ΤΗC<br>ΡΟC ΟΛ.<br>ΔЄ [K]<br>C [P] | Above throne, on r., λ<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 968] | xxxi. 6 |
| 2 | 65·8 | *AV* 1·05 | ΘЄ Π.<br>.ΔШ Τ̄Η.<br>..C/ ΟΛ.<br>.Є K<br>C P | Above throne, on r., λ<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 970] | xxxi. 7 |
| | | | Nos. 1 and 2 are from a hoard discovered near Smyrna (Borrell in *Num. Chron.*, iv, 1841, p. 18). It is somewhat strange that Theodore II abandons the title Porphyrogenitus borne on the gold coins of his father and predecessor John I Vatatzes, and on this account it might be thought that the gold coin assigned, *supra*, | | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | p. 204, to Theodore I, which has the epithet Porphyrogenitus, would be best attributed to Theodore II. On the whole, however, for the reasons stated *supra*, p. 205, the attribution of our gold coins (Nos. 1 and 2) with Ο ΛΑϹΚΑ ΡΙϹ to Theodore II seems preferable; and the gold coins with Porphyrogenitus are thus left to Theodore I.<br>No. 1 is the identical specimen published by Sabatier, ii, p. 296, No. 3, Pl. 65. 4, who has wrongly read ΔΕϹ as ΔΟΚ and omitted Ο Λ, &c., on the *obv.* The Α above the throne on the *rev.* of Nos. 1 and 2 has by some been regarded as a monogram of ΛΑ (Lascaris) but it is much simpler to consider it a form of the letter Α. Similar letters are found above the throne of the Saviour on Nicaean coins, as follows:—Γ Γ on gold of Theodore I, *supra*, p. 204; Α Α (or Δ Δ?) on a gold coin of Theodore II (*Rev. num.*, 1841, Pl. IX. 1); Γ Ρ on a silver coin attributed to Theodore II (*infra*, No. 4, *rev.* Virgin enthroned); cp. ΙϹ ΑΚ on a silver coin assigned to Theodore Angelus of Thessalonica, *supra*, p. 193, No. 1. These may, of course, be moneyers' marks denoting different issues, but the view of Svoronos (*Journal internat. d'arch. num.*, ii, 1899, p. 387) is perhaps to be preferred, viz. that such letters are descriptive of the enthroned figure (Christ or the Virgin). Thus, ΙϹ ΧϹ Α Α is explained as Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Ἀρχων Ἀρχόντων; Α as ἅγιος, &c. | | |
| | | | **Silver Nomisma** (scyphate)<br>Type 1 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Theodore II, bearded, on l., and Christ, bearded, on r., standing facing. Christ wears nimbus cruciger (with •), tunic, and mantle, and with r. crowns the Emperor; in l., book of Gospels; above, ΙϹ; on r., ΧϹ. The Emperor wears crown, mantle, tunic, and sash with | The Virgin seated facing on throne with back, holding infant Christ; she wears nimbus, veil, tunic, and mantle; above, ΜΡ and ΘΥ. Border of dots. | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | stellate ornament, and holds in r. long sword, in l. roll or short staff. Border of dots. | | |
| 3 | 42·3 (*pierced*) | Æ 1·1 (*gilt*) | ΘЄOΔШPC ΔƟKAC [de Salis gift] | Two lis on back of throne (MP ΘV) (no border)[1] | xxxi. 8 |
| 4 | 49·2 | Æ 1·15 | . . . . . C ΔƟKAC [Purchased, 1905, 4-8-22] | (Back of throne varied, and instead of the lis, Γ and P)[2] | xxxi. 9 |
| | | | Type 2 | | |
| | | | Similar to the bronze nomisma No. 5, *infra*: see Moustier, *Cat.*, No. 4168; Photiades, *Cat.*, No. 630. | | |
| | | | **Bronze Nomisma** (scyphate) | | |
| | | | Type 1 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Theodore II, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, mantle, and tunic; above, r., *manus Dei* crowning Emperor. | Inscr. St. Tryphon, wearing nimbus, tunic, and mantle, standing facing; in r., patriarchal cross; in field, l. and r., lis. | |
| 5 | 63·6 | Æ 1·15 | ΘЄ ΔƟ<br>OΔШ KAC<br>. . C OΛ .<br>CK .<br>P .<br>C | Ⓐ Φ<br>[TP in mon.] V<br>[de Salis gift][3] | xxxi. 10 |
| | | | Pressed flat. | | |

[1] The identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 297, No. 8, Pl. 65. 9. The Emperor holds a long sword, and not, as Sabatier states, a cross or labarum. The lis (which occurs also on No. 5, *infra*, has been regarded as an emblem of the Lascaris family (Sathas in *Rev. archéol.* 1877, Pt. 1, p. 99), but it appears not infrequently on Byzantine and mediaeval coins (see Longpérier, *Œuvres*, vi. 26 = *Rev. num.* 1869–70, pp. 270 f.).

[2] This coin was acquired by the Museum in 1905, from MM. Rollin and Feuardent, and is probably the identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 175, No. 4, Pl. 51. 5, as belonging to them. Sabatier attributed it to Michael VII Ducas. With Γ P compare remarks on Nos. 1 and 2, *supra*.

[3] The identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 298, No. 13, Pl. 66. 1 = *Revue*

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Type 2 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Theodore II, bearded, on l., and the Virgin, on r., standing facing. The Emperor wears crown, mantle, tunic, and sash with stellate ornament, and holds in r. long cross, in l. globus cruciger. The Virgin wears nimbus, veil, mantle, and tunic (•‸• on drapery), and with r. hand crowns the Emperor; l. hand in benediction. Border. | Inscr. Christ seated (or standing?) facing; holding in l. book of Gospels. | |
| 6 | 69. | Æ 1·15 | ΘЄ Π[O]<br>• ΉC<br>ΔΩ O/\.<br>P•C K.<br>[ΔЄC] [P?]<br>above, and on r., traces of MP and ΘV | B B and traces of two other letters.<br>[de Salis gift] | xxxi. 11 |
| | | | Pressed flat; double-struck on *rev.*, and restruck?[1] | | |

*belge*, 1859, p. 319. St. Tryphon, who is also represented on the bronze nomisma of Michael VIII, described *infra*, was martyred at Nicaea, and honoured as its patron. Theodore II built a church at Nicaea dedicated to this saint, and wrote an eulogium of him. With the lis cp. the *rev.* of No. 3, *supra*. The lis occurs as the *rev.* type of a bronze coin (of Theodore II?) with the name 'Theodore', attributed in *Rev. num.*, 1865, p. 291, Pl. XII. 5, to Theodore Angelus of Thessalonica. Sabatier, Pl. 67. 10, 'Trebizond,' is clearly misdrawn, and evidently represents on the *rev.* St. Tryphon; the coin (as already suggested in *Journ. int. d'arch. num.*, ii, p. 224, by C. M. Constantopoulos) is doubtless not of Trebizond, but of Nicaea (Theodore II or John I?).

[1] Evidently the same specimen as Sabatier, ii, p. 302, No. 2, Pl. 66. 8 = Sabatier in *Revue belge*, 1859, p. 320, though the *rev.* type is unaccountably described as a 'croix grecque'. Sabatier has assigned the coin to Theodore Angelus of Thessalonica, but the name O ΛACKAPIC (not recognized by Sabatier on the coin) proves that the specimen belongs to one of the Nicaean Theodores, and probably to Theodore II, as a comparison of the *obv.* with the *obv.* of the gold nomisma of Theodore II (Pl. XXXI. 6) suggests (cp. also the *obv.* of the bronze nomisma of Michael VIII described *infra*). On the B B see Svoronos in *Journ. int. d'arch. num.*, ii, pp. 381 f., 386; Sathas in *Rev. archéol.*, 1877, Pt. 1, pp. 92 f. Cp. Hasluck, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Athens*, xv (1908–9), p. 265.

## JOHN II ('IV') Lascaris

A.D. 1258–1259

No coins known.

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## MICHAEL VIII Palaeologus

JAN. 1260[1]—AUG. 1261 (at Nicaea)

(15 AUG. 1261—11 DEC. 1282, at Constantinople)

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Gold Nomisma** | | |
| | | | The extant gold coins bearing the name of Michael are of two types: i. with *rev.* View of Constantinople (B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, Pl. LXXIV. 1); ii. with *rev.* Virgin enthroned (*ib.* Pl. LXXIV. 3). Of these, No. i was obviously struck in Constantinople; No. ii has some claims to be regarded as belonging to the *Nicaean* coinage of Michael, but until convincing evidence from finds is forthcoming it seems best to regard it as another type of the Constantinopolitan coinage of Michael: see B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 610, note 1. With regard to the specimens described in the British Museum Catalogue, Nos. 1–5 are undoubtedly of Constantinople. If the gold nomisma, No. 6 (*rev.* Virgin enthroned), be assigned to Nicaea, it would seem that the bronze nomismata, Nos. 7–12, should also be attributed to the same mint. | |

[1] As to this date see Bury, ed. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, vol. vi, p. 439.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Bronze Nomisma** | | |
| | | | X O Π<br>M Λ Λ<br>Є O<br>Λ O<br>Γ<br>C | Γ<br>Ⓐ Φ<br>T P Ω<br>V N | |
| | | | Michael VIII, bearded, on l., and the Virgin, on r., standing facing. Michael wears crown, mantle, tunic, and sash with stellate ornament, and holds in r. long cross, in l. roll or staff. The Virgin wears nimbus, veil, mantle, and tunic, and with r. hand crowns Michael; her l. in benediction. Above ⁘ (for MΗΡ); in field r., Θ̄V̄. Border. | St. Tryphon, standing facing, wearing nimbus and mantle; holds in r. short cross. Border. | |

Æ. Size, 1 inch. Published by P. Lambros in *Zeitschrift für Num.*, ix, 1882, p. 44. (With the *rev.* cp. Theodore II, No. 5, p. 222, *supra*.) If the description of the *obv.* legend is correct, the title *despotes*, found on his Constantinopolitan money, is omitted by Michael on this coinage.

# VII.

# COINS OF THE DESPOTS OF EPIRUS

## MICHAEL I Angelus Comnenus Ducas

A. D. 1205–1214

### Nomisma

*Obv.* $\frac{X}{M}$ A ΔH Michael I and St. Demetrius standing facing, holding between them a nimbate cross.

*Rev.* $\frac{X}{M}$ St. Michael standing facing.

### Æ Concave.

Schlumberger, *Num. de l'Or. lat.*, p. 373. Cp. Pl. XIII. 21. Berlin Museum, &c. Cp. Sabatier, Pl. 59. 10 and 11 (incorrectly engraved, and attributed to the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus).

A specimen of the coin has been found in Epirus: see W. Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, p. 80 and references there.

Another concave nomisma is attributed by P. Lambros and Schlumberger to Michael I (or Michael II), and is thus described by Schlumberger:—

*Obv.* St. Michael standing holding a castle with three towers (the Castle of Arta?).

*Rev.* O AΓ XMHΛ Bust of the despot Michael. Schlumberger, *Num. de l'Or. lat.*, p. 373. (Bronze or Billon.)

This coin is also described by Sabatier, ii, p. 242, No. 10, Pl. 59. 12, who, however, attributes it to the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus, a less probable attribution. Sabatier reads on the *obv.* MX, and describes the *rev.* type not as the despot Michael, but as the Archangel Michael, and this description would seem, from the accompanying legend, to be more probable than Schlumberger's. But the coin does not, at present, appear to be quite satisfactorily figured and described.

As to the coinage of later Despots of Epirus see 'Introduction', *supra*, § vii.

# VIII.

# COINS OF THE DUCHY OF NEOPATRAS

(Great Vlakia)

## JOHN I Angelus Comnenus, Duke and Sebastocrator

A. D. 1271–1296

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Bronze Nomisma** (scyphate) | | |
| 1 | 44·3 | Æ 1·1 | IC ΔЄ CTT OT HC John I, standing facing, crowned by *manus Dei* (on r.); wears crown, robe, and mantle; holds in r. labarum, in l. volumen; in field l., angel's wing? Double border. | MP ΘY Bust of the Virgin facing; wears nimbus, veil, tunic, and mantle; in field, l. and r., small cross. Border. | xxxi. 12 |

[1] The attribution is that of P. Lambros (*Rev. num.*, 1869–1870, p. 188, No. 2), who published a similar nomisma in the Athens Museum. If the object in the field of the *obv.* is, as Lambros explains it, an angel's wing, it is no doubt a symbol of John Angelus. Lambros thinks that on grounds of style the coin is more likely to belong to this John Angelus than to John Angelus the Despot of Thessalonica. I do not feel quite the same certainty, but the attribution (accepted also by Schlumberger, *Num. de l'Orient lat.*, p. 381) may be adopted. The appearance of the symbol or signet of Angelus seems like a new departure, such as might be made by the first duke and founder of Neopatras, but which is less likely to have been due to John Angelus of Thessalonica because he was not the founder but only the third ruler of that empire, and his predecessors, though also Angeli, made no use of any such symbol.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | IC̄ ΔЄ<br>C<br>Π<br>O<br>John I, seated facing on throne, crowned by *manus Dei* (on r.); wears crown, robe, and mantle; in r., cruciform sceptre; in l., volumen; in field l., angel's wing? Double or triple border. | A M Bust of St. Michael, facing; wears nimbus and robe; holding in r. sword, in l. globus cruciger. Border. | |
| | | | Æ. Scyphate Nomisma. Size, 1·1 inch. Athens National Museum. Described, *Rev. num.*, 1869–1870, p. 187, No. 1, Pl. IX. 2 (P. Lambros) = Schlumberger, *Num. de l'Orient lat.*, p. 381, Pl. XIII. 22.[1] | | |

[1] The seal of 'John Ducas', assigned by P. Lambros (*loc. cit.*, p. 188) to this John I Angelus, is thought by Schlumberger (*Sigil.*, p. 429) to appertain rather to John I ('III') Ducas Vatatzes, the Emperor of Nicaea. In the *rev.* inscription the owner of the seal proclaims himself as ΡΙΖΑΝ ΓЄΝΟVC ЄΧΟΝΤΟC ЄΚ ΒΑCΙΛЄWN. Cp. p. 215, *supra*.

## CONSTANTINE Angelus

A. D. 1296–1303

No coins known.

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## JOHN II Angelus Comnenus

A. D. 1303–1318

Struck *deniers tournois* of the French type (*obv.* Châtel tournois : *rev.* Cross) with *inscr.* ANGELVS SAB. C. (i.e. Sebastocrator, Comnenus) NEOPATRIE or DELA PATRIA. Some with DVX ANGELVS. See Schlumberger, *Num. de l'Or. lat.*, pp. 382, 383 ; Lambros, *Rev. num.*, 1869–1870, pp. 191 f.

# IX.

# COINS OF THE EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND

A. D. 1204-1461

## ALEXIUS I Comnenus

1204–1222

Although it is not impossible that Alexius I struck coins, none have hitherto been identified. It may be conjectured that they would be Byzantine in style and fabric, like the silver nomismata attributed to Manuel I, Emperor of Trebizond (Pl. XXXII. 6–10).

The characteristic 'Asper' coinage of Trebizond did not apparently arise till the reign of John I Axuchos (see p. 232), and the aspers that bear the name 'Alexius' must be attributed to Alexius II, III, and IV, because they are of the 'equestrian' type which evidently did not prevail on the coins till comparatively late in the history of Trebizond.

Sabatier (ii, p. 309, No. 1, Pl. 67. 4) attributes to Alexius I a large bronze concave nomisma:—

*Obv.* Emperor and St. Eugenius holding patriarchal cross; on l., O ЄV ΓЄ NI OC; on r., star.

*Rev.* St. Eugenius standing facing; on l., Є V ΓЄ NI O C.

Sabatier does not state from whence this description is derived (Moustier, *Cat.*, p. 287, No. 4171, would appear to be a similar coin, but uninscribed?), and some inaccuracy may be suspected in his description. Thus, the name of the Saint occurs on both sides of the coin, and the name of the Emperor is omitted. Also it is strange that a representation of the Saint should appear both on *obv.* and *rev.* One would rather suppose that the *rev.* type is the Saviour. Even if the coin is of Trebizond, its attribution to Alexius I is entirely conjectural. (See also Introduction, *supra*, § 9, 'Alexius I.')

The bronze coin covered with inscriptions both on *obv.* and *rev.*, attributed by Sabatier (ii, p. 310, No. 2, Pl. 67. 5) to Alexius I, is really a coin of Gabalas of Rhodes, and is similar to a specimen figured in *Journal int. d'arch. num.*, ii, p. 389, No. 31.

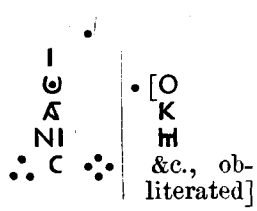
## ANDRONICUS I Gidos

A. D. 1222–1235

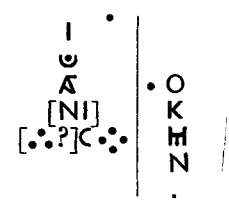
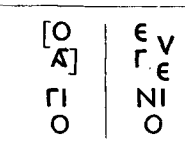
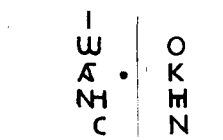
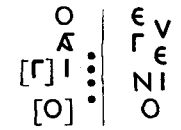
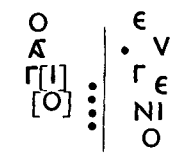
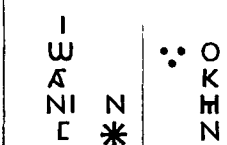
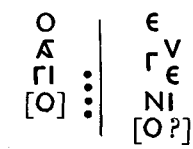
No coins have been identified as struck by this Emperor, and this fact, coupled with the absence of coins of Alexius I, tends to induce a belief that the Trebizond coinage did not come into existence till after the death of Alexius I and Andronicus I.

## JOHN I Axuchos

A. D. 1235–1238

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Aspers**[1] | | |
| | | | Inscr. John I, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. long cross (with crescent-shaped object below the cruciform top), in l. roll; wears crown, tunic, and mantle with one end falling over l. arm (on tunic and mantle ※); in field r., *manus Dei* in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, standing facing; in r., long cross; l. holds robe; wears nimbus and robe fastened by brooch. Border of dots. | |
| | | | (Pellets) | | |
| 1 | 43·7 | Æ ·9 |  &c., obliterated] (pellets for ※ on bottom of tunic; long sceptre with lis head instead of cross) | [de Salis, 1862] | xxxii. 1 |

[1] The attribution was proposed by Pfaffenhoffen. As compared with the silver coins of John II (Pl. XXXV, &c.) these have the name of John written at full length and not abbreviated, and the emperor holds a long cross instead of a labarum with a short shaft. The vertical line in the descriptions of *obv.* and *rev.* represents, approximately, the position of the type as it appears on the coins.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 43·1 | Æ ·95 |  (pellets for ⁂ on bottom of tunic; long sceptre with lis head instead of cross) |  [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 3 | 43·6 | Æ ·9 |  (pellets instead of ⁂ on tunic) |  [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1037] | xxxii. 2 |
| | | | (✱ and pellets) | | |
| 4 | 44·6 | Æ ·95 | (pellets instead of ⁂ on bottom of tunic) |  [de Salis, 1862] | |
| | | | (✱, N, and pellets) | | |
| 5 | 44·3 | Æ ·95 |  (the second N is attached to the shaft of the long cross) |  [de Salis, 1862] | xxxii. 3 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | 43·4 | Æ ·9 | (the second N is attached to the shaft of the long cross) | (the N on l. is attached to the shaft of the long cross) [de Salis, 1862] | |
| | | | (N and pellets) | | |
| 7 | 43·9 | Æ ·85 | (the second N is attached to the shaft of the long cross) | (the N on l. is attached to the shaft of the long cross) [de Salis, 1862] | xxxii. 4 |
| 8 | 44·9 | Æ ·95 | (the second N is attached to the shaft of the long cross) | (the N on l. is attached to the shaft of the long cross) [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 9 | 43·5 | Æ ·9 | (the second N is attached to the right side of the shaft of the long cross) | (the N is attached to the left side of the shaft of the long cross) [de Salis, 1862] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10 | 44.5 | Æ .95 | I<br>Ꞷ<br>A<br>NI<br>C N<br>O<br>K<br>M<br>N<br>(the second N is attached to the shaft of the long cross) | O<br>A<br>ΓI<br>O N<br>Є<br>V<br>Γ Є<br>N I<br>•<br>(the N on l. is attached to the shaft of the long cross)<br>[Purchased, 1904, 4-3-34] | xxxii. 5 |

## Bronze

The bronze coins, if any, of this reign have not been identified.

The coin in Sabatier, ii, p. 312, No. 4, Pl. 67. 9 (= our Plate XXXVII. 17), assigned by him to John I, is better (on account of the abbreviated form of the Emperor's name, the short labarum, and the globus cruciger) assigned to John II: see *infra* under bronze of John II.

The coin in Sabatier, ii, p. 312, No. 5, Pl. 67. 10, also assigned by him to John I, is really a coin of the Nicaean Empire with St. Tryphon (not St. John) on the *rev.*

# MANUEL I

A. D. 1238–1263

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Silver Nomisma (scyphate)**[1] | | |
| | | | Inscr. Manuel I, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum (on which, pellets), in l. roll; wears crown, tunic, and mantle with one end falling over l. arm (on tunic and mantle, ※); in field r., *manus Dei* in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots. | MP ΘV The Virgin (Panagia Chrysokephalos?) wearing nimbus, veil, mantle, and tunic, seated facing on throne with back, holding infant Christ. | |
| 1 | 47·8 | Æ 1·1 (*gilt*) | M O<br>И K<br>HΛ N<br>✱ | On back of throne, • and • •<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxii. 6 |
| 2 | 45· | Æ 1·1 | O<br>M K<br>И M<br>HΛ И<br>✱ | On back of throne, pellets.<br>[Baron Marochetti, 1860] | xxxii. 7 |

[1] These nomismata are doubtless rightly assigned by Sabatier to Manuel I of Trebizond. The reverse type and fabric may be compared with the nomismata of contemporary Nicaean emperors (Pl. XXIX–XXXI), but usually the execution is very careless. This coinage of silver nomismata was probably experimental, and was soon completely superseded by the silver aspers.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 45·7 | Æ 1·1 | M \| O<br>N \| K<br>(Λ ?) \| ∴ Ꟶ<br>(N) | On back of throne, pellets (on r., ∴)<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxii. 8 |
| 4 | 41·4 | Æ 1·1 | M \| O<br>N \| K<br>(Λ ?) \| Ꟶ<br>(N ?) | On back of throne, pellets (on r., ∴)<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 5 | 41·6 | Æ 1·05 | ? \| O<br>K<br>(Ꟶ) | On back of throne, ∴ and ∴<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxii. 9 |
| 6 | 43·6 | Æ 1·1 | (Inscr. nearly obliterated) | On back of throne, pellets.<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 7 | 41·8 | Æ 1·1 | (Traces of inscr.; on l., Ꟶ; on r., K, &c.) | (Θ)<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1038] | xxxii. 10 |

## Aspers

(letters)

(letter, B)

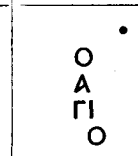
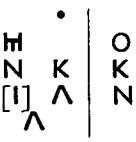
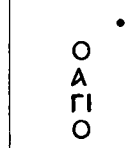
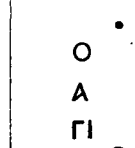
Inscr. Manuel I, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum, in l. roll; wears crown, tunic, and mantle with one end falling over l. arm (on tunic and mantle, ※); in field r., *manus Dei* in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots.

Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, standing facing; in r., long cross; l. holds robe; wears nimbus, and robe fastened by brooch. Border of dots.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | 44·7 | Æ ·9 | ∴ \| [O]<br>Ꟶ \| K<br>И<br>Λ B<br>(pellets instead of ※ on bottom of tunic) | ∴ \| ЄV<br>O \| Γ Є<br>Λ<br>ΓI B \| (NH ?)<br>[Purchased, 1904, 4-3-38] | xxxii. 11 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | 43· | Æ ·85 | (pellets instead of ※ on tunic) | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1040] | |
| 10 | 38·7 | Æ ·8 | (letter K on *obv.*: for K both on *obv.* and *rev.* see Retowski, *Komn.*, p. 28) | [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-20] | xxxii. 12 |
| 11 | 44·6 | Æ ·9 | (two pellets on shaft of labarum) | (two pellets on shaft of cross) [de Salis, 1862] | xxxii. 13 |
| 12 | 44·3 | Æ ·9 | (two pellets on shaft of labarum) | (two pellets on shaft of cross) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-41] | |
| 13 | 44·4 | Æ ·85 | (two pellets on shaft of labarum) | (pellets on cross ?) [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-17] | |
| 14 | 39·4 | Æ ·85 | (two pellets on shaft of labarum) | (pellets on cross) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1039] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | 45·5 | Æ ·85 | ✠ \| O<br>Ѡ \| K<br>Λ K \| Ѡ | O \| ✠<br>A \| ЄV<br>Ѣ \| Γє<br>O ⁘ \| NH<br>C | xxxiii. 1 |
| | | | | [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-40] | |
| 16 | 40·9 | Æ ·85 | Ѡ \| O<br>N K \| K<br>IΛ \| Ѡ | ⁘<br>O \| Є<br>A \| ΓЄ<br>ΓI \| NI<br>O | |
| | | | | [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 17 | 40·9 | Æ ·9 | Ѡ \| O<br>N K \| • K<br>IΛ \| Ѡ<br>N | O \| ЄV<br>A \| ΓЄ<br>ΓI ⁚ \| NI<br>O | xxxiii. 2 |
| | | | (two pellets on shaft of labarum) | (two pellets on shaft of cross)<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 18 | 45·5 | Æ ·9 | Ѡ \| O<br>N \| K<br>•Λ \| Ѡ | ⁘<br>O \| ЄV<br>A \| ΓЄ<br>ΓI \| N.<br>O | |
| | | | (+ on shaft of labarum) | (cross bar on shaft of cross)<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1041] | |
| 19 | 34·3 | Æ ·85 | ✠<br>Ѡ • \| • O<br>N K \| •K<br>Λ \| [Ѡ] | ⁘<br>O \| ЄV<br>A \| ΓЄ<br>ΓI \| ИI<br>[O?] \| O | |
| | | | (two pellets on shaft of labarum) | [de Salis, 1862] | |
| | | | (letters, K Λ) | | |
| 20 | 43·6 | Æ ·85 | • \| O<br>N K \| K<br>I Λ \| Ѡ<br>Λ | • \| ⁘<br>O \| ЄV<br>A \| ΓЄ<br>ΓI \| NI<br>O \| O | |
| | | | | [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-39] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21 | 45· | Æ ·85 | |  [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1040] | |
| 22 | 45·5 | Æ ·85 |  |  [de Salis, 1862] | xxxiii. 3 |
| 23 | 43·2 | Æ ·85 | |  [de Salis, 1862] | |
| | | | (letters, K and Λ) | | |
| 24 | 43·5 | Æ ·9 | | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1040] | |
| | | | (letter Λ) | | |
| | | | Pfaffenhoffen, p. 82, Pl. VI. 56–9, describes certain specimens as bearing the letter Λ on *obv.*; but it is possible that this is not a mint-letter but part of the name of 'Manuel'. | | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (letter, ⊰ or ⊰[1]) | | |
| 25 | 44· | Æ ·85 | ⊞ O<br>N ⊰ K<br>IΛ N | O ∴<br>A ЄV<br>ΓI ΓЄ<br>O NI O<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043] | |
| 26 | 43·5 | Æ ·85 | ⊞ •<br>N O<br>IΛ ⊰ K<br>N | O • ∴<br>A ЄV<br>ΓI ΓЄ<br>O NI O<br>[Purchased, 1904, 4-3-48] | xxxiii. 4 |
| 27 | 44·1 | Æ ·9 | ⊞ •<br>N O<br>IΛ ⊰ K<br>N | O • ∴<br>A ЄV<br>ΓI ΓЄ<br>O N[I]<br>O<br>[Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | |
| 28 | 44·5 | Æ ·9 | ⊞ •<br>[N O<br>IΛ?] ⊰ K<br>N | O • ∴<br>A ЄV<br>ΓI ΓЄ<br>O NI O<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043] | |

[1] This seems to be a letter—though its position on the coin is unusual—and is no doubt Ξ and not, as Pfaffenhoffen (p. 82) declares, Z: cp. the plates of letters in Pfaffenhoffen, Pl. XIV, XVI, XVII.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (Letter (?), Ↄ[1]) | | |
| 29 | 43·6 | Æ ·85 | • / ⋕ / N / Λ Ↄ — O / K / ⋕ | • / O / A / ΓI / O — • / ЄV / ΓЄ / NI / O | xxxiii. 5 |
| | | | | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1040] | |
| | | | (Letter (?), X on shaft of labarum) | | |
| 30 | 43·2 | Æ ·85 | • / ⋕ / N X / [I] / [Λ] — O / K / ⋕ / [N] | • / O / A / ΓI / O — Є[V] / Γ Є / NI / O | |
| | | | | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1041] | |
| 31 | 44·5 | Æ ·8 | • / ⋕ / N X / I / Λ — [O] / K / ⋕ / N | • / O / A / ΓI / O — Є[V] / Γ Є / N[I] / O | |
| | | | | [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 32 | 43·5 | Æ ·9 | • / ⋕ / N X / I / Λ — O / K / ⋕ / N | • / O / A / ΓI / O — • / ЄV / ΓЄ / NI / O | xxxiii. 6 |
| | | | | [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-47] | |
| 33 | 43·8 | Æ ·9 | • / ⋕ / N X / IΛ — O / K / ⋕ / N | • / O / A / ΓI / O — • / ЄV / ΓЄ / NI / O | |
| | | | | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043] | |

[1] Two specimens with this letter (apparently C reversed) are described by Pfaffenhoffen, p. 82, Pl. VI. 60. See further Retowski, *Komn.*, pp. 34 f.

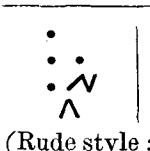
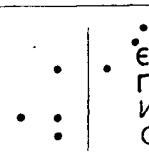
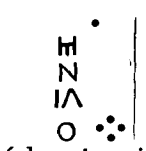
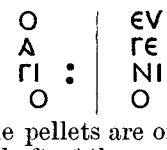
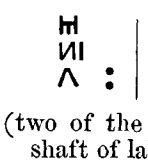
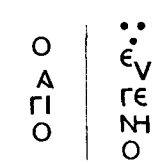
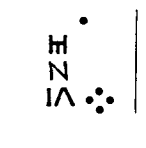
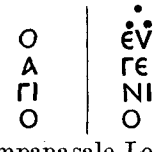
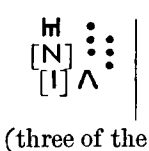
| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 34 | 44·6 | Æ ·9 | •<br>Ϯ \| O<br>N X \| K<br>I Λ \| Ϯ<br>\| N | •<br>O \| •<br>A \| ЄV<br>Γ \| Γ Є<br>I \| N I<br>O \| O<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 35 | 39·5 | Æ ·85 | H X \| K<br>И \| N<br>(Perhaps Georgian: see Retowski, *Komn.*, pp. 20, 64) | O \| Є<br>A \| Γ<br>Γ I \| Є<br>O \| [N]<br>(reverse type rude)<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxiii. 7 |
| | | | (Pellets)<br>(1 pellet on *obv.*) | | |
| 36 | 39·6 | Æ ·85 | •<br>Ϯ \| O<br>N \| K<br>IΛ \| Ϯ<br>\| N<br>(pellets instead of ※ on bottom of tunic) | O \| ЄV<br>A \| Γ Є<br>Γ I \| N I<br>O \| O<br>(two pellets on shaft of cross)<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxiii. 8 |
| 37 | 45·3 | Æ ·95 | Ϯ<br>N • \| O<br>[I ?]Λ \| K<br>\| Ϯ<br>\| N<br>(the pellet is on the shaft of the labarum) | O \| ЄV<br>A \| Γ Є<br>Γ I [• • • ?] \| N I<br>O \| O<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043] | |
| 38 | 43·8 | Æ ·85 | •<br>Ϯ<br>N \| O<br>IΛ \| K<br>\| N | ⁘<br>• \| Є<br>O \| V<br>A \| Γ Є<br>Γ I \| N I<br>O \| O<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043] | |
| 39 | 39·8 | Æ ·9 | Ϯ \| O<br>N I \| K<br>Λ • \| [Ϯ]<br>(also + with pellets on the shaft of the labarum) | O \| •<br>A \| ЄV<br>Γ I • • \| Γ Є<br>Ɔ \| N I<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (2 pellets on *obv.*) | | |
| 40 | 41·9 | Æ ·95 | ⲘNIΛ • • \| OKⲘN (one of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | OⲀΓIO \| ЄVΓЄNⲎO (cross bar on shaft of the cross) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043] | |
| 41 | 43·8 | Æ ·85 | • ⲘN . . \| • OKⲘ . | [O • Ⲁ ΓI O] \| • • ЄV ΓЄ NI O (part of inscr. on l. off flan) [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 42 | 43·3 | Æ ·9 | • ⲘN • IΛ \| OKN (⸌ attached to base of shaft of labarum) | OⲀΓIO • \| • • Є[V] ΓЄ N [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043] | xxxiii. 9 |
| 43 | 28·8 | Æ ·85 | ⲘN [I]Λ • • \| O K N (the pellets are on the shaft of the labarum) | OⲀΓI • • \| ΓЄ N[I ?] (the pellets are on the shaft of the labarum) [de Salis, 1862] | |
| | | | (3 pellets on *obv.*) | | |
| 44 | 44·1 | Æ ·9 | ⲘN • • IΛ \| OKⲘN (two of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | OⲀ ⊤I (*sic*) O \| Є[V] Γ Є • ⲎO (cross-bar on shaft of labarum) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1042] | xxxiii. 10 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 45 | 44·3 | Æ ·9 | (pellets instead of ⁘ on bottom of tunic) | (4 pellets on *obv.*) | |
| 46 | 44·3 | Æ ·9 | | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1042] | |
| 47 | 43·4 | Æ ·95 | (one of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | (the pellets are on the shaft of the cross) [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 48 | 45·4 | Æ ·85 | (two of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1042] | |
| 49 | 44· | Æ ·95 | (also + with pellets on the shaft of the labarum) | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1041] | |
| 50 | 41· | Æ ·9 | (also + with pellets on the shaft of the labarum) | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043] | xxxiii. 11 |

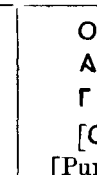
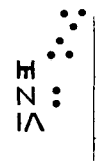
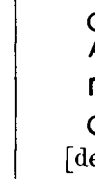
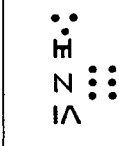
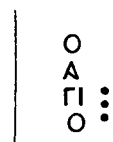
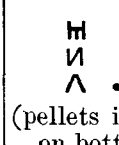
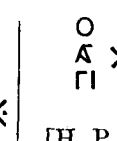
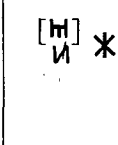
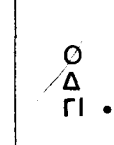
| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (5 pellets on *obv.*) | | |
| 51 | 44·2 | Æ ·85 | ⋔ N IΛ ∴ \| • O K ⋔ NI | O A Γ I O \| ϵ V Γ N | |
| | | | | (inscr. double-struck) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-43] | |
| 52 | 43·6 | Æ ·9 | ⋔ N ∴ [I]Λ \| O ⋔ N | O A ΓI [O?] \| • ϵV ΓϵNI | xxxiii. 12 |
| | | | (the pellets, forming a cross, are on the shaft of the labarum[1]) | [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 53 | 43· | Æ ·8 | ⋔ N IΛ ∴ \| O | O A ΓI ∴ O \| ϵ • V ΓϵNI O | |
| | | | (inscr. on r. partly off flan) | [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 54 | 43·7 | Æ ·9 | • ⋔ N ∴ I Λ \| O K ⋔ | • O ∴ ∴ \| ϵV ΓϵNI O | |
| | | | (two of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | (inscr. on l. nearly off flan: two of the pellets on shaft of cross) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043] | |
| 55 | 34·1 | Æ ·85 | O ⋔ И • \| [O?] K ⋔ ∴ И | O A ⌐ O \| V Γ ϵ И O | xxxiii. 13 |
| | | | (Rude style; probably Georgian: Retowski, *Komn.*, p. 61) | [de Salis, 1862] | |

[1] Cp. No. 92, *infra*, with cross on *obv.* but not on the shaft of the labarum. Strictly, on No. 52, there are no pellets on the *obv.* apart from those that form the cross, but the coin seems to fit in best with the '5 pellets' series: cp. Nos. 39, 49, 50, *supra*, and No. 57, *infra*, where there are pellets on *obv.* in addition to the cross of pellets.

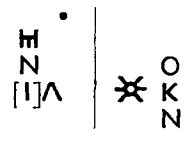
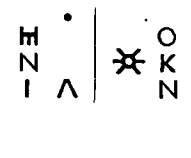
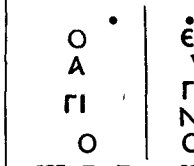
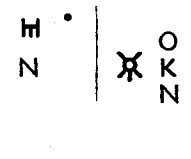
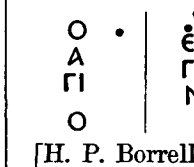
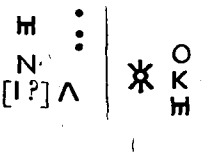
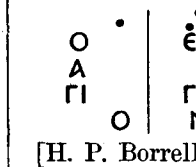
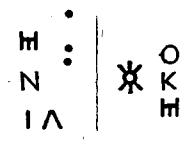
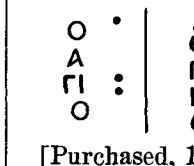
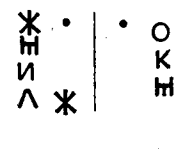
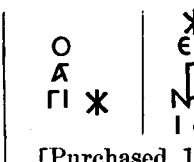
| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 56 | 36·2 | Æ ·85 |  (Rude style; probably Georgian: Retowski, p. 65, No. 210) |  [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-49] | xxxiii. 14 |
| | | | (6 pellets on *obv.*) | | |
| 57 | 43·8 | Æ ·9 |  (also ✛ with pellets on the shaft of the labarum) |  (the pellets are on the shaft of the cross) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1041] | |
| 58 | 43·8 | Æ ·9 |  (two of the pellets on shaft of labarum) |  [Purchased, 1905, 5-6-18] | |
| 59 | 43·7 | Æ ·85 |  |  [Campana sale, London, 1846, lot 1191] | |
| 60 | 44·1 | Æ ·85 |  (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1042] | |

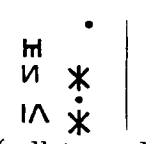
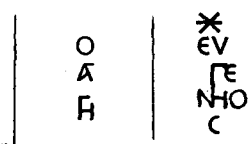
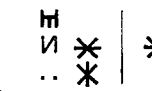
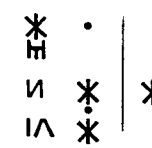
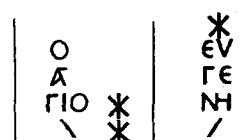
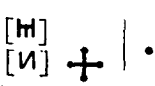
| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 61 | 44·8 | Æ ·9 | (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | (⁘ are on shaft of cross) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1040] | |
| 62 | 43·4 | Æ ·85 | (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | (two of the pellets on shaft of cross) [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 63 | 42·7 | Æ ·9 | (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | (four of the pellets on shaft of cross) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-37] | |
| 64 | 44·1 | Æ ·95 | (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | (three of the pellets on shaft of cross) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-409] | xxxiv 1 |
| | | | (7 pellets on *obv.*) | | |
| 65 | 40·2 | Æ ·85 | (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | (three of the pellets on shaft of cross) [de Salis, 1862] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 66 | 44·6 | Æ ·8 | (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | (three of the pellets on shaft of cross) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1042] | |
| 67 | 44·1 | Æ ·9 | (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | | xxxiv. 2 |
| 68 | 41·9 | Æ ·9 | (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1040] | |
| 69 | 44·9 | Æ ·9 | (one of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1042] | |
| 70 | 43·2 | Æ ·85 | (one of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | [de Salis, 1862] | |
| | | | (8 pellets on *obv.*) | | |
| 71 | 37· | Æ ·85 | (four of the pellets on shaft of labarum) | (the pellets are on the shaft of the cross) [de Salis, 1862] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 72 | 45·6 | Æ ·85 | |  [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-44] | xxxiv. 3 |
| 73 | 43·9 | Æ ·85 |  |  [de Salis, 1862] | |
| | | | (9 pellets on *obv.*) | | |
| 74 | 43·8 | Æ ·9 |  (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum) |  (three of the pellets on shaft of cross) [de Salis, 1862] | xxxiv. 4 |
| | | | (Stars) | | |
| | | | (1 star on *obv.*) | | |
| 75 | 44·3 | Æ ·8 |  (pellets instead of ⁂ on bottom of tunic) |  [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1039] | xxxiv. 5 |
| 76 | 33·1 | Æ ·85 |  |  (one of the pellets on shaft of cross) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-36] | xxxiv. 6 |
| | | | (reverse of rude style: Georgian imitation?) | | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 77 | 43· | Æ ·75 | • ϺN IΛ ✳ [inscr. off flan] (the star is on the shaft of the labarum) | [O] Λ ΓI [O ?] \| Є V Γ Є NI O [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 78 | 41·4 | Æ ·85 | [•] ϺN IΛ ✳ [inscr. nearly off flan] (the star is on the shaft of the labarum) | O [Λ] [ΓI] [O ?] \| Є V Γ Є NI [O ?] [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1041] | |
| 79 | 42· | Æ ·85 | [•?] [inscr. obliterated] ✳ \| O • K ϺN (the star is on the shaft of the labarum) | [O] Λ ΓI O \| Є V ⊏Є NI O [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 80 | 45·5 | Æ ·85 | • ϺN [I]Λ ✳ \| • O K ϺN (the star is on the shaft of the labarum) | [O] Λ ΓI [O] \| Є V ⊏Є NI O [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1041] | xxxiv. 7 |
| 81 | 44·9 | Æ ·8 | ϺN · • \| O K ✳ · · | O • Λ ΓI O \| [Є] V ΓЄ N[I] O [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1039] | xxxiv. 8 |
| 82 | 44·4 | Æ ·85 | • ϺN \| [O] K ✳ [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043] | • O Λ ΓI O \| ЄV Γ. N. (Λ and Γ conjoined) | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 83 | 44·7 | Æ ·9 |  | [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-45] | |
| 84 | 44·4 | Æ ·9 |  |  [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043] | |
| 85 | 39·5 | Æ ·8 |  |  [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1039] | |
| 86 | 44· | Æ ·85 |  |  [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1039] | |
| 87 | 40·9 | Æ ·85 |  |  [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-46] | xxxiv. 9 |
| | | | (2 stars on *obv.*) | | |
| 88 | 45·8 | Æ ·85 |  |  [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-35] | xxxiv. 10 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (3 stars on *obv.*) | | |
| 89 | 43·7 | Æ ·8 |  (pellets on bottom of tunic instead of ※) |  [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-408] | xxxiv. 11 |
| 90 | 42·6 | Æ ·9 |  (pellets on bottom of tunic instead of ※) | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1039] | xxxiv. 12 |
| | | | (4 stars on *obv.*) | | |
| 91 | 43·8 | Æ ·9 |  (pellets on bottom of tunic instead of ※) |  [de Salis, 1862] | xxxiv. 13 |
| | | | (✢ on *obv.* and *rev.*) | | |
| 92 | 43·5 | Æ ·8 |  (pellets on bottom of tunic instead of ※) | (cp. similar coin, Pfaffenhoffen, p. 82, Pl. VII. 61) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-42] | xxxiv. 14 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Aspers probably struck after the death of Manuel I and beyond the Empire of Trebizond. | | |
| | | | Inscr. Manuel I, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with short shaft, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic (with ※), and sash (with ⁘) falling over l. arm; in field r., *manus Dei* in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, standing facing; in r., long cross; l. holds robe; wears nimbus and robe. Border of dots. | |
| 93 | 43·1 | Æ ·9 | • Δ? ϺNV [H]Λ \| K ϺII | Ⓐ ЄV ΓЄV N O \| O[1] ϬA ΠЄS TI O<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1052] | |
| 94 | 43·3 | Æ ·85 | ϺN HΛ ϹO \| K ϺN | Ⓐ ЄV /? \| O TI◆ TI[S?] TI ə<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxv. 1 |

[1] This inscription (cp. the corresponding inscriptions on Nos. 94–8) may from its position on the coin be presumed to refer to St. Eugenius. The word intended is probably Τραπεζούντιος, as Koehne has suggested (*Mém. Soc. d'Arch. et Num. de St.-Pétersbourg*, iii, 1849, p. 109: cp. Pfaffenhoffen, p. 83. Koehne himself has, however, preferred the untenable view that the letters of this inscr. are blundered letters of the name of St. Eugenius).

The form of the inscr., the sign Ϭ used for Τρ, and the sign ə at the end of the inscr. (Nos. 94, 95) are less surprising on the supposition (suggested *infra*, after No. 98) that these coins (93–98) were struck beyond the limits of Trebizond and by an engraver imperfectly acquainted with Greek. It may be worth noting that Ϭ, ə bear some resemblance to the Georgian letters ⴆ = Z and ⴅ = L (see Plate I in V. Langlois, *Essai de classification des suites monétaires de la Géorgie*, Paris, 1860). (See further the recent work of Retowski *Komn.*, p. 22.)

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 95 | 44·3 | Æ ·95 | ✠ N HA C O \| K [✠] N | Ⓐ ЄV /? \| O TI◆ ΠΠ[S?] TI ə | xxxv. 2 |
| | | | | [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-51] | |
| 96 | 40·8 | Æ ·85 | ✠ N [H]A • C • O \| K ✠ N | [inscr. ? off flan] \| Ⓐ ЄVΓ NIOC O[ƀA?] ΠC | xxxv. 3 |
| | | | | (Є and V conjoined) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-50] | |
| 97 | 42· | Æ ·85 | ✠ N HA \| O K • ✠ N | [A?] [Γ?]I OC \| Ⓐ ЄVΓE NIOC OƀA Π[C?]. | xxxv. 4 |
| | | | (inscr. on l. nearly off flan) (tunic ornamented with pellets and squares: on sash, ⁘) | [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 98 | 46·5 | Æ ·95 | ✠ NV IIA \| [inscr. nearly off flan] | [inscr. obliterated] \| Ⓐ ЄVΓ[Є] NIO O[ƀA?] | |
| | | | (tunic ornamented with pellets and squares: on sash, ⁘) | [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1051] | |

Nos. 93–98 form a somewhat curious group. In the first place, it may be regarded as almost beyond doubt that the 'Manuel' named on these coins is Manuel I of Trebizond, and not either Manuel II or III whose reigns fell in a period when, on the Trebizond aspers, standing figures (such as are here seen) had been superseded by equestrian figures. These coins, however, differ in several respects from the aspers of Manuel I previously described (Nos. 8–92), especially (on the *obverse*) in having a *short* shaft for the labarum, in the introduction of the sash, and in the substitution of the

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | globus for the roll in the emperor's left hand. And they, moreover, resemble the aspers of John II, the next of the successors of Manuel I to strike this denomination.<br>It is, at first, natural to suppose that these coins formed the latest issue of Manuel I and served as the model for the aspers of John II. But a closer examination renders it very doubtful whether Manuel I can have been the issuer of the coins of this group, because, (i) they are inferior in style and execution not only to the bulk of the coins of Manuel I (Nos. 8–92), but also to those of John II which were struck seventeen years or more after the death of Manuel. And, again, if Manuel I towards the end of his long reign thought it worth while to make considerable alterations in his hitherto stereotyped coinage, it is strange that they should have been carried out so clumsily; (ii) the scheme of lettering differs from that found on the aspers of Manuel I and John II, and the epithet—apparently ὁ Τραπεζούντιος (see note on p. 254, *supra*)—is hardly ever found on any coins that are incontestably of Trebizond.<br>The view that I would suggest as to the origin of these coins (Nos. 93–98) is this. They were not issued in the Empire of Trebizond itself, but in some country—perhaps Georgia—where the asper-coinage was in demand (see J. Bartholomaei, *Lettres num.*, St.-Pét., 1859, pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in *Berliner Blätter*, iv, 1868, p. 155). They were not struck till after the death of Manuel I and were copied, as regards their types, from the aspers of John II (A.D. 1280–1297). The legends were not directly transferred from any Trebizond coins, but the name of Manuel (I) was adopted because his coins had already acquired great reputation as media of exchange (in Georgia we know that *Kirmaneoul* (Kyr or Kurios Manuel) became the generic name for silver coins: see Bartholomaei, *op. cit.*, p. 35), and the epithet ὁ Τραπεζούντιος was added to the Saint's name for the sake of identification and to supply information. In the same way, in the Europe of the Middle Ages, foreigners might speak of St. James 'of Compostella' and St. Thomas 'of Canterbury', though it was enough for the native Spaniard and the native Englishman to refer simply to St. James and St. Thomas. (See also Retowski's *Komn.*, pp. 22, 66–8, 79, 80, published since this was written.) | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | **(Bronze Nomisma?)** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Manuel I, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with long shaft, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic, and mantle (with ✕) with one end falling over l. arm; in field r., *manus Dei* in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots. | Inscr. Bust of St. Eugenius, facing, holding in r. short cross; wears nimbus and robe. Border of dots. | |
| 99 | 48·7 | Æ 1·05 | • ⲙ N ⲓⲁ ⁘ \| O K ⲙ (flat; originally concave?) | O A Γ O \| [inscr. obscure, Є V &c.] [Bought of H. Hoffmann, Paris, 1864, 4-8-22[1]] | xxxv. 5 |

[1] The identical specimen published by Sabatier, ii, p. 315, No. 8, Pl. 68. 2, though with some inaccuracies in the reading of the legends. In Retowski, *Komn.*, p. 69, No. 221, Sabatier's description is repeated and the specimen is incorrectly stated to be in the Stroganow collection. Sabatier, *ib.*, No. 7, Pl. 68. 1, further describes and attributes to Manuel I (correctly ?) a smaller bronze coin (concave) with *obv.* standing figure of Manuel, *rev.* standing figure of St. Eugenius. (Retowski, *Komn.*, p. 69, No. 222, repeats Sabatier's description.) I may point out that the *obv.* bears considerable resemblance to the coin of Manuel I of Thessalonica figured in our Pl. XXVI. 8.

# ANDRONICUS II

A. D. 1263–1266

No coins known.

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# GEORGE

A. D. 1266–1280

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | No silver coins are known of this reign, but Retowski, *Komn.*, pp. 70–2, well assigns to it bronze coins of the following types :—<br>1. *Obv.* The Emperor and St. Eugenius standing. *Rev.* Bust of St. George. Æ Nomisma. Tolstoi coll. Pl. XV. 1.<br>2. *Obv.* The Emperor standing, holding trifid sceptre. *Rev.* St. Eugenius standing, holding long cross. Æ Nomisma. Hermitage. Pl. XV. 2 (cp. *Rev. belge*, 1881, p. 346, Pl. XVI, No. 14).<br>3. *Obv.* The Emperor standing, holding labarum. *Rev.* Cross crosslet on steps. Æ Nomisma. Pl. XV. 3. | | |
| | | | The following, a variety of No. 2, is described from a plaster cast kindly supplied by M. J. N. Svoronos :— | | |
| | | | Inscr. The Emperor George, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. cross with empearled head, and in l. globus ; wears crown, tunic, and mantle. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, standing facing, wearing nimbus and robe ; in r., long cross. [Border of dots.] | |
| | | Æ 1. | Γ Ρ Γ Δ Π Τ [inscr. obscure] | ? ? | xxxv. 6 |
| | | | Æ Nomisma. National Mus., Athens. Cp. Konstantopoulos in *Journ. internat.*, ii, 1899, pp. 219 f. | | |

# JOHN II

A. D. 1280–1297

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Aspers** (with pellets on *rev.*) | | |
| | | | Inscr. John II, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with short shaft, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic (with ⟐), and mantle falling over l. arm; in field r., *manus Dei* in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded and nimbate, standing facing; in r., long cross; l. holds robe. Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 43·2 | Æ ·9 | IЄ / O / K / ЄN \| N / O | Ⓐ / ЄV / Γ \| Є / NI / O / ∴ ʃ<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1048] | xxxv. 7 |
| 2 | 42·7 | Æ ·85 | IЄ / O / K / ЄN \| N / O | Ⓐ / ЄV / Γ \| Є / NI / O / ∴ ʃ<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1048] | |
| 3 | 42·5 | Æ ·95 | [I]Є / O / K / ЄN \| N / O | Ⓐ / ЄV / Γ \| Є / NI / O / ∴ ʃ<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1045] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 44·2 | Æ ·85 | ΙЄΩ<br>O<br>K<br>ΨN<br>\| N<br>O<br>ʃ | Ⓐ<br>ЄV<br>Γ<br>\| Є<br>NI<br>O<br>⁘ ʃ<br>[Purchased, 1904, 4-3-62] | xxxv. 8 |
| 5 | 44·9 | Æ ·9 | ΙЄΩ<br>O<br>K<br>ΨN<br>\| N<br>O<br>ʃ | Ⓐ<br>ЄV<br>Γ<br>\| Є<br>NI<br>O<br>⁘ ʃ<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1048] | xxxv. 9 |
| 6 | 43·8 | Æ ·85 | ΙЄΩ<br>O<br>K<br>ΨN<br>\| (inscr. obscure) | Ⓐ<br>ЄV<br>[Γ]<br>\| [Є]<br>NI<br>O<br>⁘ ʃ<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| | | | (Similar to Nos. 1–6, but pellets on *rev.* omitted) | | |
| 7 | 44·8 | Æ ·85 | ΙЄΩ<br>O<br>K<br>ΨN<br>\| N<br>O<br>ʃ | Ⓐ<br>ЄV<br>ΓЄ<br>\| NI<br>O<br>ʃ<br>[Purchased, 1904, 4-3-53] | xxxv. 10 |
| 8 | 43·5 | Æ ·9 | [I]Ω<br>O<br>KO<br>ΨN<br>\| N<br>O<br>ʃ | Ⓐ<br>ЄV<br>\| ΓЄ<br>NI<br>O<br>[O or V?]<br>ʃ<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxv. 11 |
| 9 | 45·6 | Æ ·9 | ΙЄΩ<br>O<br>KO<br>\| ΨN | Ⓐ<br>ЄV<br>\| ΓЄ<br>N<br>O<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (+ on *obv.* or *rev.*) | | |
| | | | Inscr. John II, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with short shaft, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic (with ⁝), and sash (with ※) falling over l. arm; in field r., *manus Dei* in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded and nimbate, standing facing; in r., long cross; l. holds robe. Border of dots. | |
| 10 | 43·5 | Æ ·9 | IC̄ / O N / KO O / ЂN ∫ (wears tunic with ⟐, and mantle over l. arm, as on Nos. 1–6; no sash) | Ⓐ / ЄV ΓЄ / NI / + O ∫ [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-60] | xxxvi. 1 |
| 11 | 41·9 | Æ ·85 | [I]C̄ / O N / KO O / ЂN C | O / A ЄV / ΓI ΓЄ / O + NI / O [de Salis, 1862] | xxxvi. 2 |
| 12 | 43· | Æ ·9 | IC̄ / O N / KO O / ЂN C / + | Ⓐ / ЄV ΓЄ / NI / O / C [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-19] | xxxvi. 3 |
| 13 | 44·7 | Æ ·8 | IC̄ / [O] N / [K] O / [ЂN] ∫ (tunic with ※) | Ⓐ / ЄV NI / O / ΓЄ + C (cross in l. hand; holds robe with r.) [de Salis, 1862] | xxxvi. 4 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14 | 42·1 | Æ ·9 | [IC XC] / KO / MN / • — N / O / C (sash with •••) | A / EV / ΓE — NI / O / C (cross in l. hand; holds robe with r.) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-57] | |
| 15 | 42· | Æ ·9 | IC XC / KO / MN / • — N / O / C (sash with •••) | A / EV / ΓE — NI / O / C (cross in l. hand; holds robe with r.) [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-22] | |
| 16 | 42·3 | Æ ·9 | IC XC / KO / MN / H — [N] / O / [C] (sash with •••) | A / EV / ΓE — NI / O / C (cross in l. hand; holds robe with r.) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1044] | |
| | | | (Lis (⚜) on *obv.*) | | |
| | | | Inscr. John II, standing facing: all as on No. 10. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, standing facing: all as on No. 10. | |
| 17 | 42·8 | Æ ·85 | IC / O / KO / MN / • — N / O / ⚜ C (sash with dotted X) | A — ΓE / NI / O / C / E / V / P / • [de Salis, 1862] | xxxvi. 5 |
| 18 | 43·7 | Æ ·85 | Similar to No. 17 (C off flan) (sash with dotted X) | Similar to No. 17. [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1044] | |

| No. | Weigth | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19 | 45·8 | Æ ·9 | IC<br>O<br>KO<br>MN<br>:<br>N<br>O<br>⚜ C<br>(sash with ✕ and dotted ornamentation; lis between • and •) | A<br>E<br>V<br>P<br>P<br>ΓE<br>NI<br>O<br>C<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1045] | |
| 20 | 43·3 | Æ ·85 | IC<br>O<br>KO<br>MN<br>:<br>N<br>O<br>⚜ C<br>(sash with ✕ and dotted ornamentation; lis between • and •) | A<br>E<br>V<br>P<br>P<br>ΓE<br>NI<br>O<br>C<br>[Purchased, 1904, 4-3-56] | xxxvi. 6 |
| 21 | 42·8 | Æ ·9 | [IC]<br>O<br>[K]O<br>MN<br>[N ?]<br>[O ?]<br>⚜ [C ?]<br>(sash with ⁂; tunic with ⁂ and ⁝; lis blundered) | A<br>[E]<br>V<br>ΓE<br>NI<br>O<br>ς<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |

(letter on *obv.*)

Inscr. John II, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with short shaft, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic (with ⁝), and sash falling over l. arm; in field r., *manus Dei* in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots.

Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded and nimbate, standing facing; in r., long cross; l. holds robe. Border of dots.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 | 42· | Æ ·85 | IC̄ Ō / KO / ΠN / I — N O A C Γ / (⁘ on sash) | ·V Ꝑ[1] — ΓЄ NI O C / [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-59] | xxxvi. 7 |
| 23 | 37·6 | Æ ·95 | IC̄ Ō / KO / ΠN — Δ[2] [•?] / NO / (••• on sash) | Ⓐ ЄV Ꝑ — ΓЄ NI O C / [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1044] | |
| 24 | 42·9 | Æ ·9 | IC̄ Ō / KO / ΠN — A • / NO / (•V• on sash) | Ⓐ ЄV — ΓЄ NI O C / [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1044] | |
| 25 | 39·3 | Æ ·9 | IC̄ Ō / KO / ΠN — A • / NO / (•V• on sash) | Ⓐ ЄV — ΓЄ N[I] O C / [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1048] | |
| 26 | 43·7 | Æ ·9 | IC̄ Ō / KO / ΠN — A • / [NO] / (•V• on sash) | ·V — ΓЄ NI O C / [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1048] | |

[1] This object occurs also in the Lis series, No. 17, *supra*.

[2] This letter nearly resembles Δ, but probably A is intended. So also on the following coins of this series.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27 | 43·8 | Æ ·9 | IC̄ \| A<br>O<br>KO \| N<br>MN \| O<br>C<br>(⁘ on sash) | Ⓐ \| ΓЄ<br>ЄV \| NI<br>O<br>C<br>[Purchased, 1904, 4-3-52] | xxxvi. 8 |
| 28 | 44·4 | Æ ·9 | IC̄ \| A<br>O \| N<br>K<br>[MN] \| O<br>C<br>(✻ on sash) | O \| ЄV<br>A \| ΓЄ<br>ΓI \| NI<br>O \| OS<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxvi. 9 |
| | | | (✻ on *rev.*) | | |
| | | | Inscr. John II, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with short shaft, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic (with ⁘), and sash falling over l. arm; in field r., *manus Dei* in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded and nimbate, standing facing; in r., long cross; l. holds robe. Border of dots. | |
| 29 | 42·5 | Æ ·9 | IC̄<br>O<br>KO \| N<br>MN \| O<br>C<br>(tunic and sash ornamented with ◈) | O \| Є<br>A \| V<br>ΓI \| ΓЄ<br>O ✻ \| N[I]<br>C \| [OC]<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1045] | xxxvi. 10 |
| 30 | 44·2 | Æ ·9 | IC̄<br>O<br>KO \| N<br>MN \| O<br>C<br>(tunic and sash with ◈) | O \| Є<br>A \| V<br>ΓI \| ΓЄ<br>O ✻ \| N[I]<br>C \| [OC]<br>[Purchased, 1908, 5-6-15] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31 | 44·8 | Æ ·9 | IC̄ Ō KO ⱧN \| N [O] [C] (tunic and sash with ⟐) | O A ΓI O C ✱ \| ЄV ΓЄ N[I] O[C] [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1048] | |
| 32 | 42·6 | Æ ·95 | IC̄ Ō KO [ⱧN] \| N O •C (sash with ⟐) | O A ΓI O C ✱ \| ЄV ΓЄ NI O [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1045] | |
| 33 | 36·5 | Æ ·9 | [IC̄] O KO Ⱨ N \| N O ⁘C (sash with ⟐) | O A ΓI O C ✱ \| Є[V] ΓЄ NI OC [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-55] | xxxvi. 11 |
| 34 | 42·5 | Æ ·9 | IC̄ O [KO] [Ⱨ] [N] \| N O C (sash with ※) | O [A] ΓI O \| ✱ ЄV ΓЄ́ N[I] O C [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1045] | |
| 35 | 35·7 | Æ ·8 | IC̄ O KO ⱧN \| N O [C] (sash with ※) | O A ΓI O \| ✱ ЄV ΓЄ́ NI O C [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-54] | xxxvi. 12 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (✡ on *obv.*) | | |
| | | | Inscr. John II, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with short shaft, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic (with ⁘), and sash (with ⁘) falling over l. arm; in field r., *manus Dei* in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded and nimbate, standing facing; in r., long cross; l. holds robe. Border of dots. | |
| 36 | 43·3 | Æ ·85 | [IW] O [K]O ⱣN \| N O C ✡ (sash with ※) | Ⓐ Є V \| ΓЄ N[I] O C (double-struck) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-58] | |
| 37 | 41·5 | Æ ·95 | IW O KO ⱣN \| ✡ ⁘ (sash with ✕) | O A ΓI O \| Є V ΓЄ N I O [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-407] | xxxvi. 13 |
| 38 | 45·4 | Æ ·95 | IW O KO ⱣN \| ✡ N O C (sash with ✕) | • Ⓐ ЄV •• \| Γ′Є N I O C [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-61] | xxxvi. 14 |
| 39 | 40·6 | Æ ·8 | IW O KO ⱣN \| ✡ N O [C] (sash with ✕) | • Ⓐ Є V •• \| Γ′Є N I O C [de Salis, 1862] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 40 | 41·7 | Æ ·9 | IC̄ O KO ΜΝ \| N O C ✡ (sash with ✕) | Ⓐ ЄV • • \| ΓЄ NI O C [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1048] | |
| 41 | 47·8 | Æ ·9 | IC̄ O KO ΜΝ \| N O C ✡ (sash with ✕) | Ⓐ Є V \| ΓЄ NI O C [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1048] | |
| 42 | 45·5 | Æ ·9 | IC̄ O KO ΜΝ \| N O C ✡ (sash with ✕) | Ⓐ ЄV \| ΓЄ NI O C [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 43 | 43·6 | Æ ·85 | IC̄ O KO ΜΝ (*sic*) \| N O C • ✡ | Ⓐ ЄV \| ΓЄ NI O ς [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-16] | xxxvi. 15 |
| 44 | 41·8 | Æ ·9 | IC̄ O KO ΜΝ \| N O C ✡ | Ⓐ ЄV • • • \| ΓЄ NI (pellet on shaft of cross) [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 45 | 34·7 | Æ ·85 | NĪ O (C ?) \| N O [✡ ?] | Ⓐ ЄV • • \| ΓЄ NI O[1] [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1049] | xxxvi. 16 |

[1] This blundered piece was probably not produced at the official mint, but may be a contemporary forgery.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 46 | 38·4 | Æ ·85 | IW̄ O KO ħN \| ✡ N O C (4 pellets in sash) | Ⓐ EV \| ΓЄ NI O C [de Salis, 1862] | xxxvii. 1 |
| 47 | 42· | Æ ·9 | IW̄ O KO ħN \| ✡ N O C | Ⓐ Є V \| ΓЄ NI OC [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 48 | 44·1 | Æ ·85 | IW̄ O KO ħN \| ✡ N O C (inscr. on l. partly off flan; 6 pellets in sash) | Ⓐ Є V \| ΓЄ NI OC [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 49 | 40·7 | Æ ·85 | Similar (inscr. complete; 5 pellets in sash) [de Salis, 1862] | Similar, but EV for Є V; pellet on shaft of cross. | |
| 50 | 41·7 | Æ ·8 | IW̄ O KO ħN \| ✡ N O C | Ⓐ EV \| ΓЄ NI OC [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 51 | 41·2 | Æ ·85 | IW̄ O KO [ħN] \| ✡ N O C (4 pellets in sash) | [Ⓐ] [Є]V \| ΓЄ NI OC [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 52 | 44· | Æ ·9 | IW̄ O KO ħN \| ✡ N O C (4 pellets in sash) | Ⓐ EV \| ΓЄ NI OC [de Salis, 1862] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 53 | 42·4 | Æ ·85 | IC \| N<br>O \| O<br>KO \| C<br>MN \| ✡ | Ⓐ \| /<br>ЄV \| ΓЄ<br>\| NI<br>\| OC<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 54 | 42· | Æ ·85 | IC \| N<br>O \| O<br>KO \| C<br>MN \| ✡ | [Ⓐ] \| /<br>[Є]V \| ΓЄ<br>\| NI<br>\| OC<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 55 | 36·8 | Æ ·8 | IC \| N<br>O \| [O]<br>KO \| [C]<br>MN \| ✡ | Ⓐ \| ΓЄ<br>ЄV \| NI<br>O[1] \| O<br>\| C<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 56 | 43·4 | Æ ·9 | IC \| N<br>O \| O<br>KO \| C<br>MNH \| ✡<br>(4 pellets in sash) | Ⓐ \| ΓЄ<br>ЄV \| NI<br>\| OC<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 57 | 32·3 | Æ ·9 | [IC] \| N<br>[O] \| ·<br>KO \|<br>MNH \| ✡<br>(several pellets in sash) | Ⓐ \| ΓЄ<br>[ЄV] \| NI<br>\| OC<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 58 | 39·4 | Æ ·85 | IC \| N<br>O \| ·<br>KO \|<br>MNH \| ✡ ʃ? | Ⓐ \| ΓЄ<br>Є \| ·<br>V \| NI<br>\| OC<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxvii. 2 |
| 59 | 44·5 | Æ ·8 | IC \| N<br>O \| O<br>KO \| C<br>MNH \| ✡<br>(tunic with ◈; stripes instead of pellets in sash) | Ⓐ \| ΓЄ<br>ЄV \| NI<br>\| O<br>\| C<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |

[1] Perhaps not a letter but an annulet inserted to balance the O on the other side of the type.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 60 | 39·2 | Æ ·85 | IW / O / KO / ЂNH \| ✡ / N · | Ⓐ / ЄV \| ΓЄ / NI / O / C<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 61 | 44·4 | Æ ·85 | IW / O / KO / ЂNH \| ✡ / N · | Ⓐ / ЄV \| ΓЄ / NI<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 62 | 41·1 | Æ ·85 | IW / O / KOЂ / NN \| ✡<br>(sash, ⋰⋱; double-struck) | Ⓐ / Є / V \| ΓЄ / NI / OC<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxvii. 3 |
| 63 | 42·6 | Æ ·8 | IW / O / KO / ЂN \| N / O / C / ✡<br>(sash, ••••) | Ⓐ / Є / V \| ΓЄ / NIO / C<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 64 | 40·2 | Æ ·85 | [IW] / O / KO / ЂNH \| N / O / C / ✡<br>(sash, •••) | Ⓐ / Є / V \| ΓЄ / NI / O / C<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 65 | 42·8 | Æ ·85 | IW / O / KO / ЂNH \| N / O / C / • / ✡[1]<br>(sash, •••) | [Ⓐ] / Є / V \| ΓЄ / NI / O / C<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1045] | |
| 66 | 43·7 | Æ ·9 | IW / O / KO / ЂNH \| N / O / • / ✡[1]<br>(sash, •••) | Ⓐ / ЄV \| ΓЄ / NI / O / C<br>[Purchased, 1904, 4-3-63] | xxxvii. 4 |

[1] Cp. No. 43, *supra*.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 67 | 44·7 | Æ ·85 | IC̄ Ō KO ΜΝ | Ⓐ ЄV ΓЄ NI O C | |
| | | | N O C | | |
| | | | • ✡ | | |
| | | | (sash, ▪▪▪) | [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 68 | 43·6 | Æ ·85 | IC̄ Ō KO ΜΝ | Ⓐ ЄV ΓЄ N OC | xxxvii. 5 |
| | | | N O C | | |
| | | | • ✡ | | |
| | | | (sash, ▪▪▪) | [de Salis, 1862] | |
| | | | (✡ on *obv.*: aspers of *rude style*) | | |
| | | | Inscr. John II, standing, as on No. 36. Style rude. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, standing, as on No. 36. Style rude.[1] | |
| 69 | 46·4 | Æ ·95 | C̄ Ō K ΜN | Ⓐ Є V ΓЄ NI O | xxxvii. 6 |
| | | | N O | | |
| | | | ✡ . | | |
| | | | (monogram blundered; sash with ▪▪▪▪▪) | [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 70 | 30·8 | Æ ·85 | C̄ KO ⁾N | O Є V • • | xxxvii. 7 |
| | | | N O | | |
| | | | • ✡ | | |
| | | | (sash with ▪▪▪) | • ΓЄ NI ϑ V [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-414] | |

[1] The barbarous character of these coins has led Pfaffenhoffen (p. 102), Blau (*Berl. Blätter*, iv, p. 181), and Sabatier to attribute them to John IV (Kalojoannes), one of the latest of the Emperors of Trebizond (died A. D. 1458). But this attribution is, surely, most improbable, if only for the reason that long before the period of John IV the standing figures on the asper had been replaced by equestrian types. Aspers of the reign of John IV should therefore present equestrian figures, and we should, moreover, expect them to be struck on much smaller flans than those which characterize the coins now under discussion. The coins, then, must be regarded either as contemporary forgeries of the reign of John II or, more probably, as barbarous imitations of the aspers of John II made in some country—Iberia (Georgia)?—where the silver coins of Trebizond were a popular medium of exchange. (Cp. note to No. 73, *infra*.) These coins will thus be not earlier than A. D. 1280, the date of the accession of John II, but it is not impossible that they may have continued to be struck even after the death of John II which took place in A. D. 1297. (Retowski, *Komn.*, pp. 73 f., 108 f., cp. p. 20, has independently reached very similar conclusions as to these and other barbarous coins.)

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 71 | 38·4 | Æ ·85 | IW̄ O KO ЧN \| N (monogram blundered) (sash with ⁘) | ⊙ V Є \| ΓЄ N : (V small) [de Salis, 1862] | xxxvii. 8 |
| 72 | 30·3 | Æ ·85 | W KO ЧN \| II O • (monogram blundered) (sash with ⁘) | Ⓐ ЄV \| ΓЄ NI O• [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-412] | xxxvii. 9 |
| 73 | 34·7 | Æ ·85 | W O KO HI \| O (sash with ⁄⁄) | O [O?] V \| ΓЄ III O [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-413][1] | xxxvii. 10 |
| 74 | 35·2 | Æ ·85 | Similar to No. 73. | ⊙ CV \| ΓЄ N O [de Salis, 1862] | |
| | | | (Annulet—O or Ǫ—on *rev.*[2]) | | |
| | | | Inscr. John II, standing, as on No. 36, *supra.* | Inscr. St. Eugenius, standing, as on No. 36, *supra.* | |
| 75 | 45· | Æ ·9 | IW̄ O KO ЧN \| N O C (sash with ⁜) | [Ⓐ] ЄV O \| ΓЄ NI O C [de Salis, 1862] | xxxvii. 11 |

[1] This rudely executed coin (so also No. 74) should be compared with an undoubted *Georgian* imitation of the Trebizond aspers, and specially in regard to the curious form of the crown: see Langlois, *Essai de class. des suites monétaires de la Géorgie* (1860), p. 104, Pl. VIII. 9. The coin reads on the *obv.* 'King George' in Georgian letters. It is attributed by Langlois to George VIII, A. D. 1452–1469, but it would not seem impossible to assign it to one of the earlier kings of Georgia bearing this name. Cp. another imitation in the 1852 edition of Langlois, Pl. V. 11. (See also Retowski, *Komn.*, p. 109.)

[2] Probably only inserted to balance the letter O of the reverse inscription; cp. No. 55, *supra.* The annulet on No. 76 has a hook.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 76 | 38·6 | Æ 1· | IC<br>O N<br>KO O<br>MN C<br>(sash with ✠) | Ⓐ ΓЄ<br>[Є]VϘ NH<br>O<br>C<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1045] | xxxvii. 12 |
| | | | (without symbol) | | |
| | | | Inscr. John II, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with short shaft, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic (with ⁘), and sash falling over l. arm; in field r., *manus Dei* in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded and nimbate, standing facing; in r., long cross; l. holds robe. Border of dots. | |
| 77 | 43·4 | Æ ·85 | IC<br>OK N<br>[MN] ·<br>(sash with ✕) | Ⓐ ΓЄ<br>ЄV NI<br>OC<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 78 | 41·7 | Æ ·8 | IC<br>O [N]<br>KO O<br>MN [C]<br>(tunic with ⟐) (sash with ⟐) | Ⓐ N[I]<br>ЄV O<br>ΓЄ C<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1044] | xxxvii. 13 |
| 79 | 42·8 | Æ ·95 | IC<br>O<br>KO N<br>MN O<br>·<br>(tunic with ✕ and ⁘)<br>(sash with ✕ ✕) | [O] ЄV<br>[A] ΓЄ<br>[I] NI<br>O<br>[O]<br>[C] [Ϛ]<br>[de Salis, 1862 [1]] | xxxvii. 14 |

[1] The *rev.* bears a very close resemblance to the coin of Theodora (*circ.* A.D. 1285) described *infra* (Pl. XXXVIII. 1). The ornamentation of the Emperor's dress is also in some respects similar to that found on Theodora's dress as represented on the same coin.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 80 | 42·6 | Æ ·85 | IC̄ Ō / KO ħN \| N O C (sash with ⫲) | [inscr. off flan] \| ЄV Γє NI O [ʃ ?][1] [de Salis, 1862] | xxxvii. 15 |
| 81 | 44· | Æ ·95 | IC̄ Ō / KO ħN \| N O C (sash with ⫲) | Ⓐ ЄV \| ΓЄ NI OC [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 82 | 40·2 | Æ ·95 | Similar to No. 81. | Similar to No. 81. [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1044] | |
| 83 | 43·6 | Æ ·95 | Similar to No. 81; sash with ⫳. | Ⓐ ЄV ΓЄ \| NI O C [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1048] | |
| 84 | 36·4 | Æ ·85 | IC̄ Ō / KO ħN \| NO C (sash with ⫳) | Ⓐ Є V \| ΓЄ NI Q[2] C [de Salis, 1862] | xxxvii. 16 |

See also *supra*, p. 260, Nos. 7–9, and on the whole asper-coinage, Retowski, *Komn.*, pp. 76–129.

## Bronze

### Nomisma (scyphate)

| Inscr. John II, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with short shaft; in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, striped tunic, and sash falling over l. arm. Border of dots. | Inscr. Bust of St. John the Baptist, bearded and nimbate, facing; r. hand in blessing; l. holds long cross. Border of dots. |
|---|---|

[1] The *rev.* closely resembles the *rev.* of the coin of Theodora in Pl. XXXVIII. 1.
[2] The O has a tail or hook, resembling Q. Cp. No. 76.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 85 | 35. | Æ 1. | IW O K MN \| N O S | Ⓐ W̄ O \| ΠP O (i.e. ὁ πρόδρομος, the Forerunner) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-22][1] | xxxvii. 17 |

## JOHN II AND HIS SON ALEXIUS

There are aspers with *obv.* John II and Alexius, standing; *rev.* St. Eugenius, standing: see Retowski, *Komn.*, p. 130: cp. *Revue belge*, 1881, pp. 347, 348; Sabatier, ii, p. 332, 'Manuel III and Alexius IV'; *Photiades Catal.*, p. 46, No. 651.

A bronze coin with *obv.* John II, standing; *rev.* Alexius, standing, is described by Sabatier, ii, p. 318, No. 1, Pl. 68. 5: cp. Retowski, p. 131.

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[1] This is the identical specimen published by Sabatier (ii, p. 312, No. 4, Pl. 67. 9), who has attributed it to John I; but the short-shafted labarum and the globus cruciger are better suited to John II, as has already been pointed out, p. 232, *supra*, 'John I.' Sabatier has not understood the monogram on the *rev.*, and has read the whole reverse inscr. as O A. IW ANNE. (In Retowski's *Komn.*, p. 105, Sabatier's engraving is reproduced and the coin is incorrectly stated to be in the Stroganow collection.)

To John II, Sabatier (ii, p. 317, No. 2, Pl. 68. 4) has assigned a bronze coin with *rev.* 'Bust of St. Eugenius' [St. George?], but there is reason to think that his description of it is incorrect: see Konstantopoulos in *Journ. internat. d'arch. num.*, ii, 1899, pp. 223, 224. (Retowski, p. 187, reproduces Sabatier's engraving.) As to other bronze coins that have been attributed to John II (*rev.* St. Eugenius) see Retowski, pp. 75 f., and pp. 105–7.

# THEODORA

*circ.* 1285

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Asper** | | |
| | | | Inscr. The Empress Theodora, standing facing, holding in r. globus cruciger; l. hand placed on breast; wears crown, tunic (with ✕), and sash (with ✕✕) falling over r. arm; in field l., *manus Dei* in sleeve crowning the Empress. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. long cross; wears nimbus and robe (fastened by brooch), which he holds in l. hand. Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 44.5 | Æ .95 | [Θ]Є / [O] / ⛨ / [P]A \| H / KO / ⊬N / HN (*manus Dei* off flan) | O / A / ΓI / O / C \| ЄV / ΓЄ / NI / O / ʃ [de Salis, 1862][1] | xxxviii. 1 |
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | There is a bronze nomisma, *obv.* Theodora, standing; *rev.* St. Eugenius (Retowski, p. 133). In *Revue belge*, 1881, p. 348, Pl. XVI. 16, a bronze coin with *obv.* Standing figure; *rev.* The Virgin, Christ, and Empress (?) is attributed to Theodora, but the specimen is not satisfactorily preserved. Cp. Retowski, p. 134. A bronze coin with *obv.* Equestrian figure, *rev.* Cross, engraved in *Berliner Blätter*, ii, 1865, Pl. XIX. 2, is also attributed (correctly?) in the Thomsen Sale Catalogue, p. 68, No. 846, to Theodora. | | |

[1] For similar aspers see Sabatier, ii, p. 319; Pfaffenhoffen, p. 88; Koehne in *Mém. Soc. d'Arch. et Num. de St.-Pétersbourg*, iii, 1849, p. 152, Pl. III. 10; cp. Bartholomaei, *Lettres num. et arch.*, 1859, p. 39. (Also Retowski, pp. 132 f.) Some aspers (Nos. 79, 80, *supra*) of John II resemble Theodora's aspers in various respects.

# ALEXIUS II

A.D. 1297–1330

The various aspers and half-aspers inscribed with the name 'Alexius' must be distributed between Alexius II, III, and IV, for there is good ground for refusing to assign any of them to Alexius I (see *supra*, p. 230, Alexius I).

Pfaffenhoffen (p. 92) has well noted that the sceptre held by the emperor on the *obv.* of the 'Alexius' coins assumes several forms, and that these changes seem likely to give a clue to the attribution of the coinage. The sceptre is represented, as regards its head, in three different ways: with an empearled head (represented by several pellets, ⁘) with a triple head, Y, with a three-barred cross as head, ‡.

Pfaffenhoffen has assigned to Alexius II those coins which display the triple-headed sceptre, and to Alexius III those which display the empearled sceptre. But if we take a broader survey of the coinage than was possible for Pfaffenhoffen with his comparatively scanty material, cause can be shown why we should reverse this arrangement, i. e. we must assign to Alexius II the silver coins with the empearled sceptre, and to Alexius III those with the triple head.

The distribution of the sceptres is as follows :—

Alexius II [⁘ ? or Y ?].
Basil I Y.
Michael Y.
Alexius III [⁘ ? or Y ?].
Manuel III Y and ‡.
Alexius IV ‡.

It is thus clear that if the ⁘ sceptre is assigned (as Pfaffenhoffen proposed) to Alexius III it will break the sequence of Y sceptres. It is necessary, therefore, to place it *before* the introduction of the Y sceptre, i. e. in the reign of Alexius II, and the coins with this ⁘ sceptre are, moreover, by their style and fabric, better suited to this position than to the reign of Alexius III.

To Alexius IV falls the series with ‡, a form of sceptre already in use during part of the reign of his predecessor, Manuel III.

M. Retowski, in his *Münzen d. Komnenen*, pp. 136 f., and pp. 161 f., published since the above was written, takes a different view, in several cases, as to the coins to be assigned to Alexius II and Alexius III. He attributes many of those with the Ψ sceptre to Alexius II (not III), and on the whole appears to attach less importance to the ornamentation of the sceptre than to the indications supplied by the form of the legends, the weight, &c.—indications which certainly deserve full consideration.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Aspers** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Alexius II, bearded, facing, seated on horse walking r.; wears crown and tunic (with ⁘); in r. hand, sceptre with empearled head (⁘); l. hand on bridle. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, seated facing on horse walking r.; wears nimbus and tunic (with ⟐); in r. hand, cross; l. hand on bridle. Border of dots. | |
| | | | (letter B) | | |
| 1 | 35·5 | Æ ·9 | A — Є ⋀ \| M … BN | Ⓐ ЄV Γ \| N … B[O ?] [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1046] | xxxviii. 2 |
| 2 | 29·7 (*chipped*) | Æ ·85 | A — Є ⋀ \| M … B | Ⓐ [Є]V [Γ] \| N … B [de Salis, 1862] | xxxviii. 3 |
| 3 | 32·8 | Æ ·85 | Similar to No. 2. | Similar to No. 2; inscr. on l. complete; inscr. on r. off flan. [de Salis, 1862] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (Quatrefoil ornament and B) | | |
| 4 | 36·2 | Æ ·8 | A / — / Є / ⋀ \| M / B<br>beneath horse, ⊗ (quatrefoil ornament) | Ⓐ / ЄV / Γ \| N / B<br>beneath horse, ⊗ (quatrefoil ornament)<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1050] | xxxviii. 4 |
| | | | (Cross) | | |
| 5 | 40· | Æ ·9 | A / Є / ⋮ \| + K / ꟽ / N | Ⓐ / ЄV / Γ / • \| + / [N]<br>(tunic covered with pellets)<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1046] | xxxviii. 5 |
| 6 | 36·7 | Æ ·9 | A / Є KO / ⋀ \| + M / N | [Ⓐ] / ЄV / Γ \| + / N<br>(tunic covered with pellets)<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1046] | |
| 7 | 40·5 | Æ ·85 | A / — / Є / ⋀ \| ⁘ M / N | Ⓐ / ЄV / Γ \| ⁘ / N<br>(tunic covered with pellets)<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1046] | xxxviii. 6 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (Star) | | |
| 8 | 42·8 | Æ ·95 | A – Є ~ K O \| ✱ N | Ⓐ · V \| ✱ N (tunic covered with pellets) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1046] | xxxviii. 7 |
| 9 | 40·2 | Æ ·9 | [inscr. obscure] \| ✱ K Ⲙ N | Ⓐ ЄV Γ \| ✱ N (tunic covered with pellets) [de Salis, 1862] | |
| | | | (Plants or Flowers) | | |
| 10 | 41·7 | Æ ·85 | A – Є ~ OKO \| M N beneath horse, Ψ, Ψ, Ψ (tunic with ◈) | Ⓐ ЄV \| ΓЄ N beneath horse, Ψ, Ψ, Ψ (tunic covered with pellets) [de Salis, 1862] | xxxviii. 8 |
| 11 | 36·8 | Æ ·9 | · Є ~O \| Ⲙ N beneath horse, Ψ, Ψ, Ψ (partly obscure) (tunic with ◈) | · V \| ΓЄ N beneath horse, Ψ, and two nearly similar plants, partly obscure (tunic covered with pellets) [de Salis, 1862] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Half Aspers** (Plant or Flower) | | |
| 12 | 27·5 | Æ ·75 | A / ΛΕΟ / Λ? \| MN<br>beneath horse, ⁘ (double-struck) | Ⓐ / ЄVΓ \| NI<br>beneath horse, ⁘ (ЄVΓ double-struck) [de Salis, 1862] | xxxviii. 9 |
| 13 | 24·3 | Æ ·75 | A / – / ΛΕΟ / ⁄ \| MN<br>beneath horse, ⁘ | Ⓐ / ЄVΓ ? \| NI<br>beneath horse, ⁘ [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 14 | 17·3 | Æ ·65 | A / – / ΛΕΟ / ⁄ \| ·<br>beneath horse, ⁘ | Ⓐ / [Є]V \| NH<br>beneath horse, traces of ⁘ [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1053] | xxxviii. 10 |
| 15 | 18·5 | Æ ·65 | A / – / ΛΕΟ / ⁄ \| MN<br>beneath horse, ⁘ | Ⓐ / ЄVΓ \| NH<br>beneath horse, ⁘ [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 16 | 19·6 | Æ ·75 | A / Є / ≀ / Γ \| [MN] / O<br>beneath horse, ↓ | Ⓐ / ЄV / Γ \| NI<br>beneath horse, ↓ [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1053] | xxxviii. 11 |
| 17 | 18·6 (*chipped*) | Æ ·65 | A / Є / ≀ \| ·<br>O ?<br>beneath horse, ↓ | Ⓐ \| N<br>beneath horse, ↓ • [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1053] | xxxviii. 12 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | 18·7 (*chipped*) | Æ ·7 | ⋮ \| ΗΝ<br>Β<br>beneath horse, ⸸? (type double-struck; inscr. on l. nearly off flan) | Ⓐ? \| ΝΗ<br>ЄVΓ<br>Β<br>beneath horse, ⸸? (type and ЄVΓ double-struck)<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1055] | xxxviii. 13 |
| 19 | 22·7 (*chipped*) | Æ ·75 | ⅄Є<br>ΟΗ \| ΝΙ<br>ʃ[1]<br>beneath horse, • Ⴔ (plant or flower?) | Ⅽ<br>Ⓐ \| ΝΙ<br>ЄV<br>ʃ<br>beneath horse, Ⴔ<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1050] | xxxviii. 14 |

**Bronze**

The coin in Sabatier, ii, p. 321, No. 6, Pl. 68. 13, *rev.* bust of St. Eugenius, described as of Alexius II, is probably better assigned to Alexius III on account of the small module and the form of the border on the *obv.* (Retowski, however, *Komn.*, p. 147, agrees to Sabatier's attribution.)

[1] The letters ΝΙʃ are inscribed in this position through a careless or ignorant blunder: they really represent the end of the name of St. Eugenius as the *rev.* inscr. proves. Retowski, p. 164, No. 5, attributes this coin to Alexius III.

## ANDRONICUS III

A. D. 1330—JAN., 1332

Coins have not usually been attributed to this emperor, but M. Retowski, *Münzen d. Komn.*, p. 148, Pl. XII. 1–3, publishes three varieties of a rare asper on the *obv.* of which he reads the initials (in monogram) of the name of Andronicus.

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## MANUEL II

JAN.—SEPT. 1332

No silver coins are known, and the bronze coins with *rev.* figure of Christ in oval frame, attributed by Sabatier (ii, p. 322, Nos. 1, 2, Pl. 68. 14, 15) to this Manuel, are better assigned to the Byzantine emperor Manuel II; see Retowski, *op. cit.*, p. 149; cp. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, p. 638, No, 16; cp. p. 642, No. 12.

# BASIL

SEPT. 1332—APRIL, 1340

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Aspers** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Basil, bearded, facing, seated on horse walking r.; wears crown and tunic; in r. triple-headed sceptre; l. on bridle. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, facing, seated on horse walking r.; wears nimbus and tunic; in r. cross; l. on bridle. Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 30·3 | Æ ·85 | B A \| M • | Ⓐ N ϵV \| •[1] [de Salis, 1862] | xxxviii. 15 |
| 2 | 26· (*chipped*) | Æ ·85 | Similar to No. 1; • obscure. | Similar to No. 1, but ϵ instead of ϵV, and V instead of N. [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1047] | |
| 3 | 18· (*flan small*) | Æ ·75 | B•A \| M | Ⓐ V [ϵ?] [de Salis, 1862[2]] | xxxviii. 16 |
| 4 | 21· | Æ ·7 | B•A \| M | Ⓐ \| I beneath horse, • [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-411] | xxxviii. 17 |

[1] Specimens described by Retowski, *Komn.*, pp. 151 f., display as symbols Ψ, ⁘, &c.

[2] The low weights would suggest that Nos. 3 and 4 are *half* aspers, but on account of the style and size of the types it is difficult to separate them from the aspers: the flans of both specimens have been clipped.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Basil, standing facing, holding in r. triple-headed sceptre, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic, and sash falling over l. arm. (Scyphate.) | Inscr. St. Eugenius, standing facing, holding in r. long cross; wears nimbus and mantle. | |
| | | Æ .7 | BA \| IC \| XC | Ⓐ \| ΓΙ \| ЄV ΓЄ NI | |

This description is taken from Sabatier, ii, p. 324, Nos. 5, 6, Pl. 68. 20, 21. (BA on *obv.* should probably be B**A**.)

None of the other bronze coins assigned by Sabatier to this emperor can be regarded as correctly placed. Sabatier, in his attributions, no doubt relied on the letter B which is a conspicuous feature of these coins, but his interpretation of it as the initial of 'Basil' is decidedly hazardous. In the first place—on the analogy of the silver coins of this emperor and of his bronze coins as above described (= Sabatier, Pl. 68. 20 and 21)—we should expect the name of the emperor to be indicated not by B, but by B**A**. Again, this B is found on other coins of Trebizond, for example, on the bronze money of John III, where, of course, it cannot be interpreted as 'Basil'. (See further, *infra*, 'Uncertain Bronze Coins of Trebizond' at end of Trebizond series, where it is suggested that B and B**B** have a religious significance.) On account of their types, moreover, these coins would seem to belong to a later time than the reign of Basil. For during the reign of Basil and his successors, John III and Michael, the usual types of the bronze coinage consisted of the standing figures of the Emperor and St. Eugenius; but after the reign of Michael the standing figure of Eugenius begins to be replaced by a cross (accompanied by the name of Eugenius) or by some other type.

I am of opinion, then, that of the bronze

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | coins assigned by Sabatier, ii, pp. 323 f., to Basil, only Nos. 5 and 6 (standing figures) are rightly attributed. Nos. 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11 probably belong to the latest emperors of Trebizond, subsequent to Michael. No. 7, with B both on *obv.* and on *rev.*, is perhaps not a coin of Trebizond.<br>(Retowski, in his *Münzen d. Komn.*, pp. 153–5, published since the above was written, repeats the descriptions of Sabatier, ii, pp. 323, 324, Nos. 5 and 6, Pl. 68. 20 and 21. These coins (with BA and the figure of St. Eugenius: see *supra*, p. 286) must certainly belong, as he remarks, to Basil. With regard to the other bronze coins ascribed by Sabatier to Basil (which I have discussed above), Retowski, though apparently with some hesitation, assigns most of them to Basil, namely, Sabatier, *Descript.*, ii, pp. 323, 324, Nos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, and 10. BB he interprets as Βασίλιος βασιλεύς.) | | |

## IRENE PALAEOLOGINA

APRIL, 1340—JULY, 1341

No coins have been identified as belonging to this short reign.

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## ANNA

JULY, 1341—SEPT. 1342

No coins are known of this empress: cp. Retowski, *Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt*, p. 156.

# JOHN III

SEPT. 1342—MAY, 1344

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Silver** | | |
| | | | If silver coins were struck by John III they doubtless bore equestrian types like those of the emperors who immediately preceded and followed him. The coins with *standing* figures which Pfaffenhoffen and Sabatier (ii, p. 326) have assigned to this John, belong, from the character of their types, to an earlier period of the Trebizond coinage, i.e. to the time of John I or John II. | | |
| | | | **Bronze** | | |
| | | | Inscr. John III, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. triple-headed sceptre, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic, and sash falling over l. arm. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. long cross; l. holds robe; wears nimbus and robe. Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 41·2 | Æ ·85 | IC̄ \| O KO M (Sabatier, ii, p. 326, No. 5, Pl. 69. 8: the identical specimen.) | N \| A O \| Γ (scyphate) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-22][1] | xxxix. 1 |
| 2 | 24·8 (*worn*) | Æ ·8 | [I]C̄ \| ✱ OK \| M (without globus cruciger; l. hand holds dress) | · \| ЄV (inscr. partly obscure) (flat) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xxxix. 2 |

[1] Retowski, *Komn.*, p. 107, No. 155, assigns this specimen to John II.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (smaller module) | | |
| 3 | 14·4 | Æ ·65 | [I?]Ω / B | A O / B \| Є / V / Γ (scyphate) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23][1] | xxxix. 3 |
| 4 | 21·1 | Æ ·65 | Inscr. obscure; style rude (tunic varied) | \| ΓЄ (inscr. partly obscure) (scyphate) [de Salis, 1862] | xxxix. 4 |
| 5 | 20·4 (*worn*) | Æ ·65 | (inscr. and type obscure) | On l., B, rest of inscr. obscure (flat) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | |

[1] The identical specimen published by Sabatier, ii, p. 336, No. 3, Pl. 70. 5, who assigned it to John IV, i.e. nearly a century later; but the fabric, types, form of the sceptre, &c., point much more directly to the reign of John III. (Retowski, *Komn.*, p. 157, No. 2, who reproduces Sabatier's description, rightly assigns the specimen to John III; but his statement that it is in the Stroganow cabinet requires correction.)

# MICHAEL

MAY, 1344—DEC. 1349

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Aspers** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Michael, bearded, facing, seated on horse walking r.; wears crown and tunic (with ⁘); in r., triple-headed sceptre; l. on bridle. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, facing, seated on horse walking r.; wears nimbus and tunic (with ◈); in r., cross; l. on bridle. Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 26. (*pierced*) | Æ .7 | X \| M<br>MI \|<br>beneath horse, ? | Ⓐ \| <br>[Є]V \| •<br>beneath horse, ✱<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxix. 5 |
| 2 | 25·8 | Æ .75 | X \| M<br>MI \|<br>beneath horse, ⁘ | Ⓐ \| [N]<br>ЄV \| •<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxix. 6 |
| | | | **Bronze** (scyphate) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Michael, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. triple-headed sceptre, in l. round shield with star; wears crown, tunic, and sash. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded and nimbate, standing facing, holding in r. long cross; l. holds robe. Border of dots. | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 12·8 | Æ ·7 | X \| M<br>MI | • \| [Є]<br>V<br>Γ<br>Є (flat)<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxix. 7 |
| 4 | 25· | Æ ·75 | Similar to No. 3. | Similar to No. 3 (inscr. on r. complete) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xxxix. 8 |
| | | | (figure on *rev.* half-length only) | | |
| 5 | 16·9 | Æ ·55 | X \| M<br>MI | \| Є<br>V<br>[Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xxxix. 9 |
| 6 | 20·4 | Æ ·75 | Similar to No. 5 (inscr. obscure) | Similar to No. 5 (inscr. obscure) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xxxix. 10 |
| 7 | 18·9 | Æ ·75 | Similar to No. 5 (inscr. partly obscure) | Similar to No. 5 (inscr. obscure) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xxxix. 11 |
| 8 | 13·5 | Æ ·65 | Similar to No. 5 (inscr. partly obscure) | Similar to No. 5. [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | |

# ALEXIUS III

13 Dec. 1349—20 March, 1390

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Aspers** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Alexius III, bearded, seated facing on horse walking r.; wears crown and tunic (with ⁘); in r., sceptre with triple head (Ψ); l. on bridle. Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, seated facing on horse walking r.; wears nimbus and tunic (with ◇); in r., cross; l. on bridle. Border of dots. | |
| | | | (Lis) | | |
| 1 | 38·2 | Æ ·85 | A — Є ⋀ \| M<br>beneath horse, ⚜ (lis[1])<br>(sceptre with ⁘ head) | Ⓐ Є V \| N ⁘<br>beneath horse, ⚜ (lis)<br>[Purchased, 1904, 4-3-33] | xxxix. 12 |
| 2 | 31·3 | Æ ·8 | A — Є ⋀ \| M<br>beneath horse, ⚜ (lis)<br>(sceptre with ☥ as head) | Ⓐ Є V Γ \| N O<br>beneath horse, ⚜ (lis)<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxix. 13 |

[1] The actual form of the lis is less elaborate.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | 31·3 (*chipped*) | Æ ·9 | ⋮ · \| M<br>⋮ \| N<br>[beneath horse, ⚜ (lis)]<br>(sceptre with ☥ as head) | Ⓐ \| N<br>ЄV \| O<br>beneath horse, ⚜ (lis)<br>[de Salis, 1862][1] | xxxix. 14 |
| | | | (Plant or flower) | | |
| 4 | 32·9 | Æ ·85 | A \| ✝<br>– \| <br>Є \| <br>⋎ \| NO<br>beneath horse, Ψ | Ⓐ \| NH<br>ЄV \| <br>Γ \| •<br>beneath horse, Ψ<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xxxix. 15 |
| 5 | 33· | Æ ·85 | A \| ✝<br>~ \| <br>Є \| <br>⋎ \| <br>beneath horse, Ψ | Ⓐ \| NH<br>ЄV \| <br>beneath horse, Ψ; several small pellets in front of horse.<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 6 | 30·2 | Æ ·8 | A \| ✳<br>~ \| <br>⋮ \| <br>⋎ \| N<br>beneath horse, [Ψ] | Ⓐ \| ИI<br>[Є?]V \| <br>O?<br>beneath horse, Ψ<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |
| 7 | 33·2 (*pierced*) | Æ ·85 | A \| ✳<br>~ \| <br>[Є] \| <br>[⋎] \| И<br>beneath horse, Ψ | Ⓐ \| ИI<br>ЄV \| <br>•<br>beneath horse, Ψ<br>[Purchased, 1908, 5-6-21] | xl. 1 |

[1] The sceptre on those aspers that appear to belong to Alexius III (see *supra*, p. 278, at beginning of Alexius II) has a triple head (Ψ), but on Nos. 1, 2, and 3 the form is different. No. 1 shows the sceptre with the empearled top that seems to be characteristic of Alexius II, but the treatment of the emperor's head differs from that on the coins of Alexius II, and so closely resembles the head on the coins of Alexius III, that it seems necessary to assign it to the latter reign. On Nos. 2 and 3 a cruciform (or lis-shaped ?) top is adopted for the sceptre, but these (as in the case of No. 1) appear to be only abnormal varieties of the type of sceptre (Ψ) mainly represented on the coins of Alexius III. (As to Retowski's attributions see p. 279, *supra*.)

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | 28·5 | Æ ·8 | A / — / Є / [⋀] \| [solar] / И<br>beneath horse, Ψ | Ⓐ / ЄV \| ИI / •<br>beneath horse, Ψ<br>[Purchased, 1908, 7-7-5] | |
| 9 | 35·8 | Æ ·85 | A / ~ / Є / ⋀ \| [solar][1]<br>beneath horse, [Ψ] | Ⓐ / ЄV \| NH / V•<br>beneath horse, Ψ<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xl. 2 |
| | | | (Bird's head) | | |
| 10 | 29·6 | Æ ·85 | A / ~ / Є / ⋀ / KO \| MN / N•<br>in front of horse, bird's head r. | Ⓐ / ЄV / Γ \| NI / •<br>in front of horse, bird's head.<br>[J. G. Pfister, 1850] | xl. 3 |
| | | | (Pellets) | | |
| 11 | 24·1 | Æ ·75 | A / Є / ⋀ \| M<br>beneath horse, • • | Ⓐ / ЄV \| N<br>beneath horse, •<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xl. 4 |
| 12 | 29·2 | Æ ·8 | A / : \| H<br>in front of horse, • | • / • \| N<br>in front of horse, •<br>[de Salis, 1862] | |

[1] As to the solar device found on Nos. 6–9 see Introduction, *supra*, § 9, under 'Symbols and letters'.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Half Aspers** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Alexius III, riding r., as on the aspers (No. 4, &c.). Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, riding r., as on the aspers (No. 4, &c.). Border of dots. | |
| 13 | 24· *(pierced)* | Æ ·8 | A / ΛΕΟ \| ΜΝ ? beneath horse, B (numerous pellets on tunic) | (A) ЄVΓ \| ΜΝΗ beneath horse, B· [de Salis, 1862] | xl. 5 |
| 14 | 17·4 | Æ ·7 | A / — / Є / Λ \| ΜΝ beneath horse, B | (A) ЄVΓ \| beneath horse, B (A blundered) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1053] | xl. 6 |
| | | | **Quarter Aspers** | | |
| | | | Inscr. Alexius III, riding r., as on the aspers (No. 4, &c.). Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, riding r., as on the aspers (No. 4, &c.). Border of dots. | |
| 15 | 13·2 | Æ ·65 | A / ΛЄ \| ΜΝ beneath horse, B | (A) V \| beneath horse, B (A written Λ) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1053] | xl. 7 |
| 16 | 13·2 | Æ ·6 | A / ΛЄ \| [ΜΝ ?] beneath horse, B | (A) Є \| ΝΗ beneath horse, B (A written Λ) [de Salis, 1862] | xl. 8 |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

## Bronze (scyphate)

Some of the coins here attributed to Alexius III have been assigned by Sabatier to Alexius IV, and the claims of the latter emperor, as well as those of Alexius II, fairly demand consideration. These coins (Nos. 17–34) seem to form a homogeneous group, on account of their fabric, which is characterized by the irregular shape and the thickness of the flans, and on account of their reverse types which, except in the case of Nos. 17 and 18, consist of devices (cross, eagle, &c.) not found on the earlier bronze coinage of Trebizond, of which coinage, it will have been observed, figure-subjects are the usual types. It is highly probable, therefore, that they were all issued by a single emperor of the name of Alexius; and that this emperor was Alexius III, rather than either Alexius II or Alexius IV, may perhaps be regarded as likely, on the following grounds:—

The bronze coins of the reigns that precede and follow the reign of Alexius II are of comparatively large module, and their reverses consist of a figure-subject, usually, St. Eugenius. Our Nos. 17–34, therefore, by reason of their small module and their lack (except Nos. 17, 18) of figure-types on the *rev.*, do not seem well suited to the reign of Alexius II.

Their unsuitability to the reign of Alexius IV is not so obvious; yet an examination of the coins of Manuel III, the emperor who intervenes between the reigns of Alexius III and Alexius IV, will probably suggest that our Nos. 17–34 are earlier, rather than later, than the coins of Manuel III, that is to say, they belong to Alexius III, and not to Alexius IV. (Retowski, *Komn.*, pp. 162, 179, has independently reached the same conclusions.)

### Type 1

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Inscr. Within six-foil enclosure, Alexius III, standing facing; wears crown, tunic, and sash; holds in r. sceptre with empearled head, in l. globus cruciger. Border of dots. | Inscr. Within six-foil enclosure, St. Eugenius, standing facing; wears nimbus and robe, and holds in r. cross; l. holds robe. Border of dots. | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17 | 31· | Æ ·65 | A / Є? ⋀ \| M | Ⓐ < \| N<br>[Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xl. 9 |
| 18 | 24·5 | Æ ·65 | ⋀ Є ⋁ \| · | Ⓐ ⋀ \| N<br>[Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xl. 10 |
| | | | Type 2 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Alexius III, standing facing, as on No. 17 (six-foil enclosure omitted). Border of dots. | Cross, fourchée, resting on base; inscr. in angles. Border of dots. | |
| 19 | 24·4 | Æ ·8 | A / ⋀Є O (bent flat) \| [Ⲏ ?] | OA ΓЄ \| ЄV NI[ς?]<br>(base obscure)<br>[Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23 [1]] | xl. 11 |
| 20 | 17·9 (*worn*) | Æ ·7 | · ⋀Є · (bent flat) \| [Ⲏ ?] | OA ΓЄ \| ЄV NI<br>[Purchased, 1864] 4-8-23] | xl. 12 |
| | | | Type 3 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Alexius III, standing facing, as on No. 17 (globus rudely indicated) (six-foil enclosure omitted). Border of dots. | Cross of dots, with dotted wreath attached to the horizontal limbs; inscr. in angles of cross. Border of dots. | |

[1] The identical specimen published by Sabatier, ii, p. 334, No. 2, Pl. 69. 26, who has attributed it to Alexius IV. Retowski, *Komn.*, p. 170, No. 46, is the same piece.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21 | 20·6 | Æ ·6 | A / B \| ΛϵC | Γ / (A) / N \| Γ / ϵV / ʃ [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23[1]] | xl. 13 |
| 22 | 13·8 | Æ ·55 | Similar to No. 21. | Similar to No. 21. [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xl. 14 |
| | | | Type 4 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Alexius III, standing facing, as on No. 17 (globus rudely indicated) (six-foil enclosure omitted). Border of dots. | Cross planted on wall (apparently the city-wall of Trebizond with its battlements and gateway); on l. of cross, OA; on r. of cross, ϵV. Border of dots. | |
| 23 | 16·5 | Æ ·7 | $\overline{A\epsilon}$ / O? \| N | [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23[2]] | xl. 15 |
| | | | Type 5 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Alexius III, standing facing, as on No. 17 (globus[3] rudely indicated in field r.) (six-foil enclosure omitted). Border of dots. | Dotted cross within plain cross voided; inscr. in angles of cross. Border of dots. | |
| 24 | 20·4 | Æ ·55 | A / — / ΛϵC \| [ꟽ ?] | OA / ΓϵC \| ϵV / NI [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xl. 16 |

[1] Compare a similar specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 334, No. 4, Pl. 70. 2, who has assigned it to Alexius IV.

[2] The identical specimen published by Sabatier, ii, p. 334, No. 3, Pl. 70. 1, who assigned it to Alexius IV. Cp. Retowski, p. 171, No. 47.

[3] Here, and on some of the following types, the globus cruciger is ignorantly or carelessly represented by a mere detached circlet, and the emperor's left arm is placed against his side.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25 | 22·4 | Æ ·6 | Similar to No. 24; letter on r. obscure. | Ⓐ ϵV<br>Γ N<br>[Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | |
| | | | Type 6 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Alexius III, standing facing, as on No. 17 (sash omitted; globus rudely indicated in field r., as on No. 24) (six-foil enclosure omitted). Border of dots. | Cross potent within wreath, with two loops above and two below; inscr. in angles of cross. Border of dots. | |
| 26 | 17·4 | Æ ·55 | Λ \| ⲙ<br>Λϵ | ϵ \| ⊂<br>Λ \| O<br>[Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23[1]] | xl. 17 |
| 27 | 26·2 | Æ ·55 | Λ \| ⲙ<br>— \|<br>Yϵ | ϵ \| ⊂<br>Λ \| O<br>[Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xl. 18 |
| 28 | 22· | Æ ·55 | [Λ] \| ⲙ<br>Λϵ | ϵ \| ⊂<br>Λ \| O<br>[Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xl. 19 |
| 29 | 11·2 (*worn*) | Æ ·55 | Similar to No. 27. | Similar to No. 27. [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | |
| | | | Type 7 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Alexius III, standing facing, as on No. 17 (globus rudely indicated, as on No. 24; sash omitted) (six-foil enclosure omitted). Border of dots. | Cross pattée within dotted star; inscr. in angles of cross. Border of dots. | |

[1] Cp. Sabatier, ii, Pl. 69. 15, 16.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 | 16·4 | Æ ·55 | A · / Λ / Є | O Є / Γ И | xli. 1 |
| | | | | [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | |
| 31 | 22·4 | Æ ·6 | A Ꚕ / Λ / Є | O Є / Γ И | xli. 2 |
| | | | | [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | |
| | | | Type 8 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Alexius III, standing facing, as on No. 17 (globus rudely indicated, as on No. 24) (six-foil compartment omitted). Border of dots. | Double-headed eagle, displayed. Border of dots. | |
| 32 | 15·3 | Æ ·55 | A Ꚕ / ·· + · | [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23 [1]] | xli. 3 |
| 33 | 19·3 | Æ ·5 | A Ꚕ / ΛЄ · | [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xli. 4 |
| 34 | 19·1 | Æ ·55 | Λ Є | A ? / Ꚕ | [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23 [2]] | xli. 5 |

[1] Cp. a similar specimen in *Revue belge de num.*, 1881, p. 350, which—if Koehne's reading is correct—bears the name of Manuel (III).

[2] Retowski, *Komn.*, p. 171, No. 48, describes this actual specimen as having a single-headed eagle, but a comparison with our Nos. 32 and 33 will show that it is double-headed. The attribution to Alexius III of Sabatier, ii, p. 329, No. 4, Pl. 69. 17 (*rev.* Christ standing within oval frame), is probably to be suspected. The coin is, perhaps, one of Manuel II, the Byzantine emperor. Cp. B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, ii, Pl. LXXVII. 5. See p. 284, *supra*, 'Manuel II,' and Retowski, p. 149.

# MANUEL III

A.D. 1390–1417

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Half Aspers** (or Aspers?) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Manuel III, bearded, seated facing on horse walking r.; in r., sceptre with three-barred cross (‡); l. on bridle; wears crown and tunic (with ⁘). Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, seated facing on horse walking r.; wears nimbus and tunic (with ◇); in r., long cross; l. on bridle. Border of dots.[1] | |
| | | | (Star) | | |
| 1 | 14·6 | Æ ·7 | ·ꟽ / ·Λ \| ꟽ / Ꞵ<br>beneath horse, ✳ (sceptre has triple head, Ψ) | ⊙ / ЄГ \| И / Ꞵ<br>beneath horse, ✳ [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1055] | xli. 6 |
| 2 | 13· (*clipped*) | Æ ·55 | ꟽ \| ꟽ? / Ꞵ<br>beneath horse, ✳ (sceptre has triple head, Ψ) | O / Є \| И / Ꞵ (off flan)<br>beneath horse, ✳ [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 3 | 16·9 | Æ ·65 | ꟽ / O \| / Ꞵ<br>beneath horse, ✳ (head of sceptre obscure) | Ⓐ / Є \| И / [Ꞵ?]<br>(beneath horse, ✳?) [de Salis, 1862] | |

[1] The aspers with standing figures assigned by Sabatier (ii, Pl. 69. 18, 19) to this reign obviously belong to an earlier period.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (Plant or flower) | | |
| 4 | 16·8 | Æ ·6 | ꟾ \| ꟾ<br>AO \| B<br>beneath horse, Y (sceptre has triple head, Y) | O \| И<br>ЄГ \| B<br>beneath horse, Y [de Salis, 1862] | xli. 7 |
| 5 | 14· | Æ ·6 | ꟾ \| ꟾ<br>AO \| [B ?]<br>beneath horse, Y[1] | · \| И<br>· \| B<br>beneath horse, Y [de Salis, 1862] | xli. 8 |
| | | | (Star and plant or flower) | | |
| 6 | 17·5 | Æ ·65 | ꟾ \| ꟾ<br>AO \| K<br>beneath horse, ✳ | Ⓐ \| И<br>ЄГ \| O<br>beneath horse, Y [de Salis, 1862] | xli. 9 |
| 7 | 16·7 | Æ ·65 | ꟾ \| ꟾ<br>AO \| K<br>beneath horse, ✳ | Ⓐ \| И<br>ЄГ \| O<br>beneath horse, Y [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1054] | |
| 8 | 16·2 | Æ ·65 | ꟾ \| ꟾ<br>AO \| K<br>beneath horse, ✳ (cross of sceptre with one bar only) | Ⓐ \| И<br>ЄГ \| O<br>beneath horse, Y [Rollin sale, London, July, 1853, lot 588] | xli. 10 |

[1] On this coin the cross-headed sceptre (⸸) is first introduced.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (Bird's head and plant or flower) | | |
| 9 | 17· | Æ ·6 | ꟽ / ꟽ<br>AO / K<br>beneath horse, ••• and bird's (eagle's?) head r. | Ⓐ / И<br>ЄГ / O<br>••<br>beneath horse, Ψ<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xli. 11 |
| 10 | 15· | Æ ·6 | A / ꟽ<br>ꟽO / K<br>beneath horse, ••• and bird's (eagle's?) head r. | Ⓐ / И<br>ЄГ / O<br>beneath horse, Ψ<br>[Parkes Weber gift, 1906] | |
| 11 | 20·5 | Æ ·7 | Similar to No. 10. | Similar to No. 10.<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xli. 12 |
| 12 | 17·6 | Æ ·6 | H / ꟽ<br>beneath horse, •• and bird's head? r. | Ⓐ / И<br>ЄГ / O<br>beneath horse, Ψ<br>[de Salis, 1862 [1]] | |
| | | | Bronze (scyphate)<br>Type 1 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Manuel III, standing facing, holding in r. cross, in l. globus; wears crown, tunic, and sash. Border of dots. | Inscr. Cross planted on wall (apparently the city-wall of Trebizond with its battlements and gateway). Border of dots. | |
| 13 | 9·3 | Æ ·6 | ꟽ / Γ? | [OA?] / [ЄV?]<br>[Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23 [2]] | xli. 13 |

[1] The coin in Sabatier, ii, p. 332, Pl. 69. 25, attributed to Manuel III and Alexius IV, is an asper of John II and Alexius: see p. 276, *supra*.

[2] Cp. Introduction, *supra*, § 9, Miscellaneous reverse types. A similar *rev.* occurs on coins of Alexius III, *supra*, p. 299, No. 23.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 14 | 12·3 | Æ ·6 | M ? / · O \| M / K | Similar to No. 13; legend obscure. [Purchased, 1864. 4-8-23] | xli. 14 |
| | | | Type 2 | | |
| | | | Inscr. Manuel III, standing facing, holding in r. cross, in l. globus; wears crown, tunic, and sash. Border of dots. | Inscr. Cross pattée, ornamented with pellets. Border of dots.[1] | |
| 15 | 13·6 | Æ ·55 | · / · O \| M / K | O / Γ \| Є / H [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xli. 15 |
| 16 | 13·9 | Æ ·6 | · / · · \| M / K | · / Γ \| · / И [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xli. 16 |
| 17 | 11·7 | Æ ·6 | · / O / A \| · / · | O / [Γ] \| Є / И [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xli. 17 |
| | | | Type 3 | | |
| | | | If the reading of Koehne (*Revue belge de num.*, 1881, p. 350, Pl. XVI. 18) is correct, there is a small bronze coin of Manuel III with *obv.* Emperor standing; *rev.* Double-headed eagle. (The double-headed eagle is also found, *supra*, on coins of Alexius III, No. 32, p. 301.) | | |
| | | | Type 4 | | |
| | | | Sabatier, ii, p. 331, No. 6, Pl. 69. 23, publishes a small bronze coin with *obv.* Emperor Manuel III facing (M / A M); *rev.* Eagle facing, head r. | | |

[1] Cp. Sabatier, ii, p. 331, Nos. 3 and 4, and *rev.* type of Alexius III, No. 24, p. 299, *supra*.

# ALEXIUS IV

A.D. 1417–1446

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | **Half Aspers** | | |
| | | | (or Aspers) | | |
| | | | (Pellets) | | |
| | | | Inscr. Alexius IV, bearded, seated facing on horse walking r.; in r., sceptre with three-barred cross (‡); l. on bridle; wears crown and tunic (with ⁘). Border of dots. | Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, seated facing on horse walking r.; wears nimbus and tunic (with ◇); in r., long cross; l. on bridle. Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 27·5 | Æ ·75 | A Є λ ⁘ \| M · | Ⓐ \| ·? [N ?] · (double-struck) [de Salis, 1862] | xlii. 1 |
| | | | (Star and plant or flower) | | |
| 2 | 13·5 (*pierced*) | Æ ·75 | A A \| H [B ?] beneath horse, [⁘ ?] and ✱ | Ⓐ ЄГ \| И [B ?] beneath horse, ⁘ and Ψ [de Salis, 1862] | xlii. 2 |
| 3 | 20·3 | Æ ·7 | A λЄ \| ИH B beneath horse, K and ✱ (two bars on cross) | Ⓐ Є VГ \| · И B beneath horse, K and Ψ [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1053] | |

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 20·3 | Æ ·65 | Λ / ΛϵΛ \| NH / B<br>beneath horse, K and ✱<br>(Λ carelessly formed) | Ⓐ / ϵ \| [N ?] / B<br>beneath horse, K and Y<br>[Rollin sale, London, July, 1853, lot 588] | xlii. 3 |
| 5 | 21· | Æ ·6 | Λ / ΛϵΛ \| NH / B<br>beneath horse, K and ✱<br>(Λ as on No. 4) | Ⓐ / ϵV \| И / [B]<br>beneath horse, K and Y<br>[de Salis, 1862] | xlii. 4 |
| 6 | 21· | Æ ·65 | Λ / ΛϵΛ \| ИH / [B]<br>beneath horse, K and ✱<br>(Λ as on No. 4) | Ⓐ / ϵV \| И / B<br>beneath horse, K and Y<br>[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1053] | |

For the silver coins that M. Retowski has attributed to Alexius IV see his *Münzen d. Komnenen*, pp. 179 f.

## Bronze

No coins can with certainty be attributed to this reign (cp. Retowski, *loc. cit.*), though some of the 'Uncertain' pieces described *infra*, pp. 309 f., may belong to it.

## JOHN IV (Kalojoannes)

A. D. 1446–1458

Retowski (*Komn.*, p. 184, Nos. 1–7, Pl. XV) has for the first time attributed to John IV some rare aspers (or half aspers?) in the Hermitage Museum and in his own collection. They bear types resembling those of Alexius IV, the preceding emperor, and are inscribed IC̄ O ΜΗ, C̄ ΜΗ, &c.

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## DAVID

A. D. 1458–1461

No coins can with certainty be attributed to this emperor. The asper assigned to him by Sabatier (ii, p. 336, No. 1, Pl. 70. 6) is the identical specimen first published, from a private French collection, by Victor Langlois (*Revue archéol.*, vi, 1849, p. 115). The first letters of the legend of this coin, ΔΒ, have been interpreted as the name of 'David', but the types (*standing* figures of the Emperor and St. Eugenius), the symbol (large star), the large *flan*, and the form of inscription point to a much earlier period of the Trebizond coinage. Moreover, Δ may be intended for Α, and the coin is probably a blundered asper of the period of John II. (Retowski, in his recent *Münzen d. Komn.*, pp. 119, 186, takes a similar view of this coin and considers it to be a Georgian imitation of the aspers of John II.)

# UNCERTAIN BRONZE COINS OF TREBIZOND

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | The following coins have a fair claim to be considered money of Trebizond, but they do not bear the name of their issuers. Judging from style and fabric they are not earlier than the reign of Alexius III, and may, perhaps, be best regarded as coins of Alexius IV (A. D. 1417–1446) or, possibly, of his two successors. | | |
| | | | (Scyphate) | | |
| | | | Eagle r., with wings spread; on head, cross. Border of dots. | Cross planted on city-wall. Border of dots. | |
| 1 | 15·8 | Æ ·55 | | [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23 [1]] | xlii. 5 |
| | | | Eagle r., with wings spread; on head, cross. Border of dots. | Β • Β Border of dots. | |
| | | Æ ·55 | See Sabatier, ii, p. 324, No. 9, Pl. 69. 1. | | |

[1] This is the identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 324, No. 11, Pl. 69. 3, who has assigned it on insufficient grounds (cp. *supra*, p. 287) to Basil. (Retowski, p. 178, No. 30, gives it to Manuel III.) The *rev.* type, cross on city-wall, is found on bronze of Alexius III and of Manuel III. The fabric would suit Alexius III, but the bronze coins of Alexius III (and of Manuel III) have as *obv.* a figure of the emperor.

The *obv.*, Eagle with cross on head, is found conjoined (see the next coin described) with ΒΒ as *rev.*, and it would therefore seem that our coin should be grouped with the coins, described *infra*, that have Β or ΒΒ as one of their types.

| No. | Weight | Metal and Size | Obverse | Reverse | Plate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Eagle facing, with wings spread, head l. Border of dots. | Ƀ ✱ Ƀ[1] Border of dots. | |
| 2 | 13·5 | Æ ·6 | | [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23[2]] | xlii. 6 |
| | | | ✱ Ƀ • ✱ Border of dots. | Cross with letter in each angle. Border of dots. | |
| 3 | 14· | Æ ·7 | | Λ \| Γ<br>Є \| И<br>[Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23[3]] | xlii. 7 |
| 4 | 10·8 | Æ ·6 | Similar to No. 3. | Similar to No. 3. [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23] | xlii. 8 |
| 5 | 13· | Æ ·55 | Similar to No. 3. | Similar to No. 3. [de Salis, 1862] | |
| 6 | 20·5 | Æ ·65 | Cross potent (flat fabric). | Cross potent (flat fabric). [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23[4]] | xlii. 9 |

[1] These letters are probably best explained as having a religious significance. ƁƁ, ƁƁƁƁ, or Ƀ occur on some Byzantine imperial coins of the fourteenth century (B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 627, 49, p. 629, 1) and on many coins that more or less show traces of Byzantine influence (e.g. the coins of Rhodes, Schlumberger, *Num. de l'Orient lat.*, Plates VIII and IX), and their meaning has been discussed at length by Svoronos in his *Journ. internat. d'arch. num.*, ii, pp. 363 ff. Svoronos (p. 388) would interpret the two letters on our No. 2 as Βασιλεῦ (Χριστὲ) βοήθει. The single Ƀ on No. 3 may be read in connexion with the name of St. Eugenius on the *rev.*—Βοήθει (τῷ βασιλεῖ). Svoronos's suggestion (p. 388) that Ƀ is a monogram composed of Β and Ρ, signifying Βασιλέα ῥῦσαι, is less acceptable, because Ƀ is, at this period, a common form of Β and there is no necessity to regard it as monogrammatic. Cp. pp. 286, 287, *supra*.

[2] Cp. Sabatier, ii, Pl. 68. 23, 'Basil.'

[3] The identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 323, No. 3, Pl. 68. 18, 'Basil.'

[4] Resembles the specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 339, No. 9, Pl. 70. 15, who has classed it among the 'Uncertain Byzantine coins', at the same time remarking:—'Plusieurs exemplaires du cuivre précédent se trouvant mêlés parmi les monnaies de Trébizonde qui formaient une grande partie des deux trouvailles que j'ai eues en main, je suis autorisé à croire que ces cuivres ont été frappés dans cet empire.'

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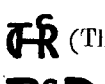 (Theodoric), Ostrog., 46.

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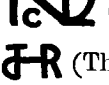 (Theodoric), Ostrog., 55.

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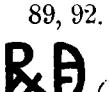 (Liutprand rex), Lomb., 144.

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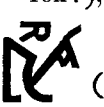 (Lucca), Lomb., 151.

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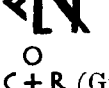
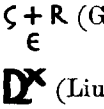
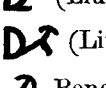
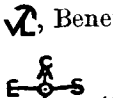
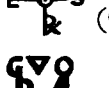
 (Gregorius), Benev., 159.

 (Liutprand dux), Benev., 165.

 (Liutprand dux), Benev., 166.

 , Benev., 166 *n.*

 (Carolus rex), Benev., 171.

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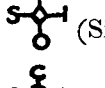
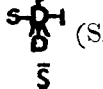
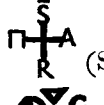
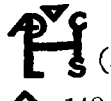
 (Sico), Benev., 177, 178.

 (Sicard), Benev., 180.

 (Sancta Maria), Benev., 184.

 (Adelchis), Benev., 185.

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# CHRONOLOGICAL LISTS

## I. VANDAL KINGS

(See L. Schmidt, *Gesch. der Wandalen*, p. 203; cp. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, ii, p. 290.)

1. Gaiseric, 428 (429 in Africa)—25 Jan. A.D. 477
2. Huneric, son of Gaiseric, 26 Jan. 477—23 Dec. 484.
3. Gunthamund, nephew of Huneric, 24 Dec. 484—3 Sept. 496.
4. Trasamund, nephew of Huneric and brother of Gunthamund, 3 Sept. 496—6 May 523.
5. Hilderic, son of Huneric by Eudocia, 6 May 523—19 May 530 (*d.* 533).
6. Gelimer, nephew of Gunthamund, 19 May 530—Dec. 533.

## II. OSTROGOTHIC KINGS

(Odovacar, 23 Aug. 476—15 March 493.)

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Theodoric, March 493—30 Aug. 526.
Athalaric, 31 Aug. 526—2 Oct. 534.
Amalasuntha, regent, 31 Aug. 526—2 Oct. 534; queen, 534—30 Apr. 535.
Theodahad, 3 Oct. 534—(Nov. ?) 536.
Witigis, (Nov. ?) 536—(spring) 540 (deposition); *d.* 542.
Matasuntha, (Dec. ?) 536—(spring ?) 540.
Ildibad, (spring ?) 540—(May ?) 541.
Eraric, (May ?) 541—(Sept. ?) 541.
Baduila (Totila), (Sept. ?) 541—July or Aug. 552.
Theia, July or Aug. 552—553.

## III. LOMBARD KINGS

Alboin, 568–572 (reign in Italy).
Cleph, 572–574.
Interregnum, 574–584.
Authari, son of Cleph (married Theudelinda), (April ?) 584—5 Sept. 590.
Agilulf (married Theudelinda), Nov. 590—615.
Adalwald, son of Agilulf and Theudelinda, 615–624 ? (reigns jointly with Theudelinda, who dies 628).
Ariwald, 624–636.
Rothari, 636–652.
Rodwald, son of Rothari, 652 (about 5 months).
Aripert I, nephew of Theudelinda, 653–661.
Perctarit and Godepert, sons of Aripert I (joint rulers), 661–662.
Grimwald, 662–671.
Perctarit (second reign), 672–688 (with his son Cuninepert from 680).
Cuninepert (sole reign), 688–700.
Liutpert, son of Cuninepert, 700 (8 months).
Raginpert, son of Godepert, 700.
Aripert II, son of Raginpert, 701–712.
Ansprand, 712 (3 months); *ob.* 13 June 712.
Liutprand, son of Ansprand, 712—Jan. 744.
Hildeprand, nephew of Liutprand (with Liutprand), 735—Jan. 744; alone from Jan. 744 (about 6 months).
Ratchis (first reign), Sept. 744—749.
Aistulf, brother of Ratchis, July 749—(Dec. ?) 756.
Ratchis (second reign), (Dec. ?) 756—March 757.
Desiderius, 757—June 774 (with his son Adelchis, Aug. 759—773).

## IV. DUKES AND PRINCES OF BENEVENTUM

### (i) Dukes

Zotto, 571 ?–591.
Arichis I, 591–641.
Aio, 641–642.
Radoald, 642–647.
Grimoald I, 647–662; King of the Lombards, 662–671.
Romoald I, 662–671 (with his father Grimoald as Duke; 671–687 alone).
Grimoald II, 687–689.
Gisulf I, 689–706.
Romoald II, 706–731.
Audelais, 731–732.
Gregorius, 732–739.
Gottschalk, 739–742.
Gisulf II, 742–751. (Married Scauniperga.)
Liutprand, 751–758.
Arichis II, 758–774. (See also as Prince.)

### (ii) Princes

Arichis II, 774–787.
Grimoald III, 788–806.
Grimoald IV, 806–817.
Sico, 817–832.
Sicardus, 832–839.
Radelchis I, 839–851.
Radelgarius, 851–853.
Adelchis, 853–878.
Gaideris, 878–881.
Radelchis II, 881–884 (first reign).
Aio, 884–890.
Interregnum, 890–897 (Bp. Peter governor, 897).
Radelchis II, 897–899.

## V. EMPERORS OF THESSALONICA

Theodore Angelus Comnenus Ducas, 1222–1230.
Manuel Angelus Comnenus Ducas, 1230–1232.
John Angelus (as Emperor), 1232–1243; (as Despot of Thessalonica, 1244).
Demetrius (Despot of Thessalonica), 1244–1246.

## VI. EMPERORS OF NICAEA

Theodore I Lascaris, 1204–1222 (crowned 1206).
John I ('III') Ducas Vatatzes, 1222–30 Oct. 1254.
Theodore II Ducas Lascaris, 1254–Aug. 1258.
John II ('IV') Lascaris, 1258–1259.
Michael VIII Palaeologus, Jan. 1260–Aug. 1261.

## VII. DESPOTS OF EPIRUS

Michael I Angelus Comnenus Ducas, 1205–1214.
Theodore Angelus Comnenus Ducas, 1214–1230 (Emperor of Thessalonica, 1222–1230).
Manuel, 1230–1237.
Michael II, 1237–1271.
Nicephorus I, 1271–1296.
Thomas Angelus, 1296–1310. (Succeeded by rulers of the House of Orsini.)

## VIII. DUKES AND SEBASTOCRATORS OF NEOPATRAS (GREAT VLAKIA)

John I Angelus Comnenus, 1271–1296.
Constantine Angelus, 1296–1303.
John II Angelus Comnenus, 1303–1318.

## IX. EMPERORS OF TREBIZOND

Alexius I Comnenus, 1204–1222.
Andronicus I Gidos, 1222–1235.
John I Axuchos, 1235–1238.
Manuel I, 1238–1263.
Andronicus II, 1263–1266.
George, 1266–1280.
John II, 1280–1297.
Theodora, *circ.* 1285.
Alexius II, 1297–1330.
Andronicus III, 1330—Jan. 1332.
Manuel II, Jan.—Sept. 1332.
Basil, Sept. 1332—April 1340.
Irene Palaeologina, April 1340—July 1341.
Anna, July 1341—Sept. 1342.
John III, 4 Sept. 1342—3 May 1344.
Michael, May 1344—13 Dec. 1349.
Alexius III, 13 Dec. 1349—20 March 1390.
Manuel III, 1390–1417.
Alexius IV, 1417–1446.
John IV (Kalojoannes), 1446–1458.
David, 1458–1461.

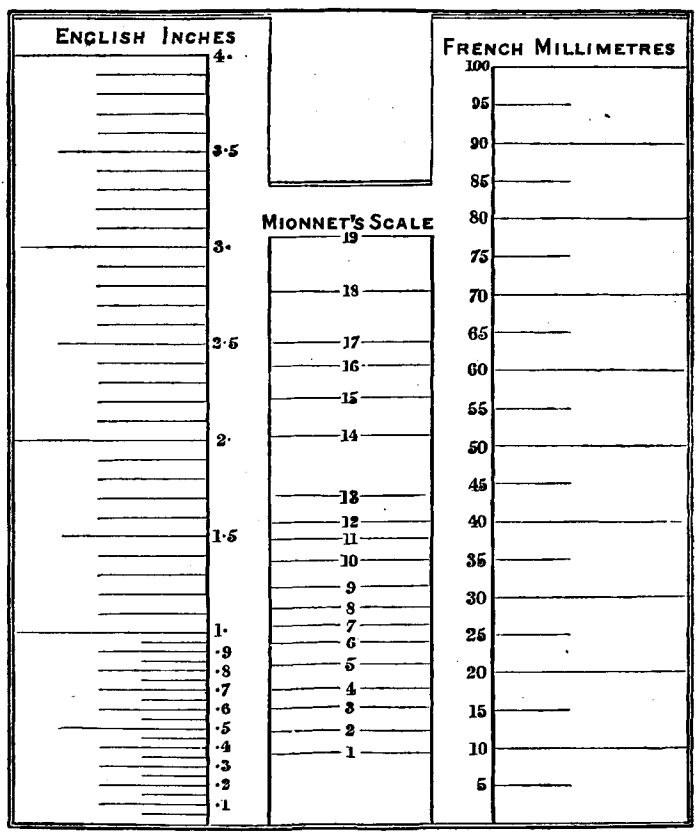
# TABLE

FOR

## CONVERTING ENGLISH INCHES INTO MILLIMETRES

AND THE

## MEASURES OF MIONNET'S SCALE



# TABLE

OF

# THE RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF ENGLISH GRAINS AND FRENCH GRAMMES

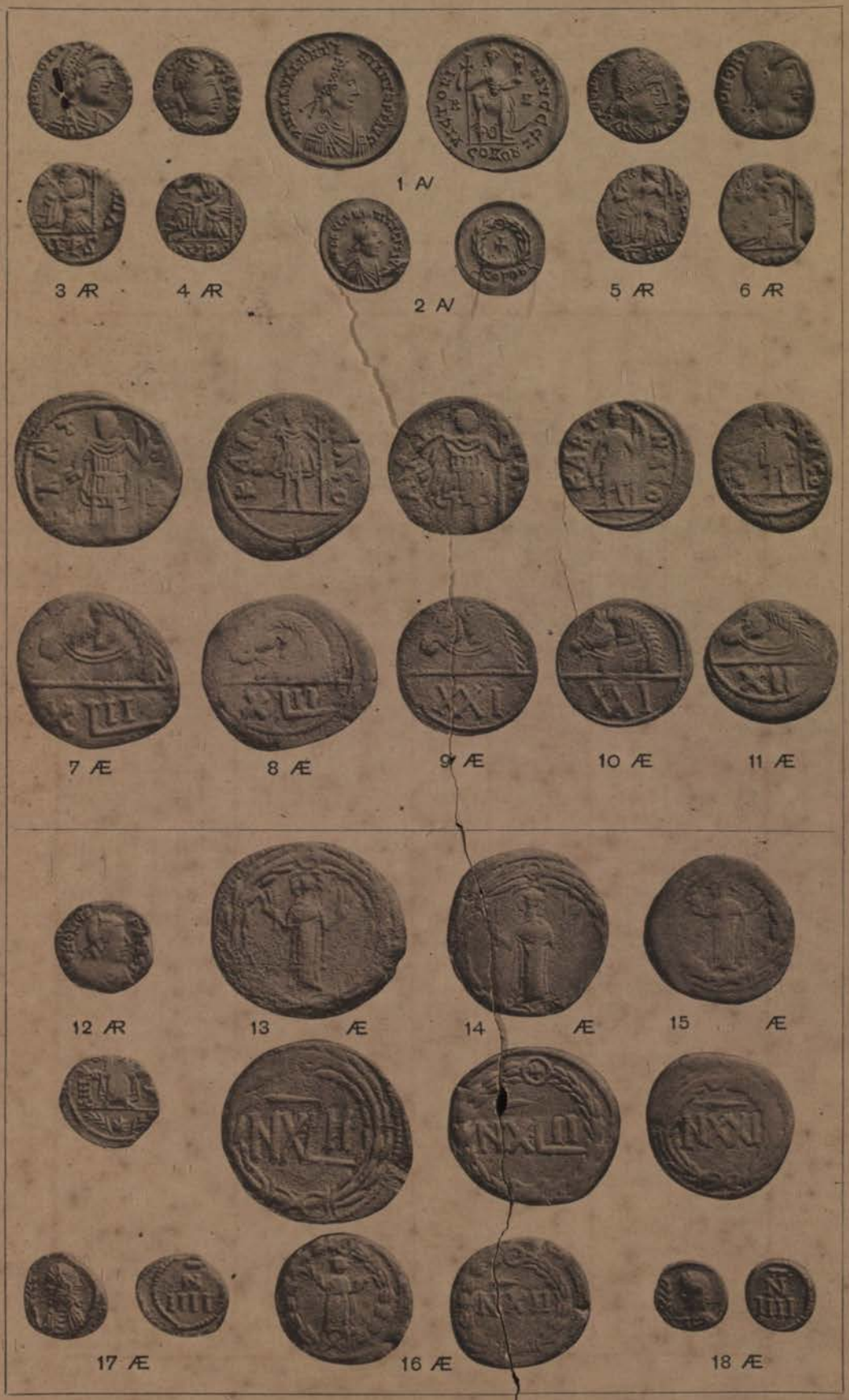
| Grains. | Grammes. | Grains. | Grammes. | Grains. | Grammes. | Grains. | Grammes. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ·064 | 41 | 2·656 | 81 | 5·248 | 121 | 7·840 |
| 2 | ·129 | 42 | 2·720 | 82 | 5·312 | 122 | 7·905 |
| 3 | ·194 | 43 | 2·785 | 83 | 5·378 | 123 | 7·970 |
| 4 | ·259 | 44 | 2·850 | 84 | 5·442 | 124 | 8·035 |
| 5 | ·324 | 45 | 2·915 | 85 | 5·508 | 125 | 8·100 |
| 6 | ·388 | 46 | 2·980 | 86 | 5·572 | 126 | 8·164 |
| 7 | ·453 | 47 | 3·045 | 87 | 5·637 | 127 | 8·229 |
| 8 | ·518 | 48 | 3·110 | 88 | 5·702 | 128 | 8·294 |
| 9 | ·583 | 49 | 3·175 | 89 | 5·767 | 129 | 8·359 |
| 10 | ·648 | 50 | 3·240 | 90 | 5·832 | 130 | 8·424 |
| 11 | ·712 | 51 | 3·304 | 91 | 5·896 | 131 | 8·488 |
| 12 | ·777 | 52 | 3·368 | 92 | 5·961 | 132 | 8·553 |
| 13 | ·842 | 53 | 3·434 | 93 | 6·026 | 133 | 8·618 |
| 14 | ·907 | 54 | 3·498 | 94 | 6·091 | 134 | 8·682 |
| 15 | ·972 | 55 | 3·564 | 95 | 6·156 | 135 | 8·747 |
| 16 | 1·036 | 56 | 3·628 | 96 | 6·220 | 136 | 8·812 |
| 17 | 1·101 | 57 | 3·693 | 97 | 6·285 | 137 | 8·877 |
| 18 | 1·166 | 58 | 3·758 | 98 | 6·350 | 138 | 8·942 |
| 19 | 1·231 | 59 | 3·823 | 99 | 6·415 | 139 | 9·007 |
| 20 | 1·296 | 60 | 3·888 | 100 | 6·480 | 140 | 9·072 |
| 21 | 1·360 | 61 | 3·952 | 101 | 6·544 | 141 | 9·136 |
| 22 | 1·425 | 62 | 4·017 | 102 | 6·609 | 142 | 9·200 |
| 23 | 1·490 | 63 | 4·082 | 103 | 6·674 | 143 | 9·265 |
| 24 | 1·555 | 64 | 4·146 | 104 | 6·739 | 144 | 9·330 |
| 25 | 1·620 | 65 | 4·211 | 105 | 6·804 | 145 | 9·395 |
| 26 | 1·684 | 66 | 4·276 | 106 | 6·868 | 146 | 9·460 |
| 27 | 1·749 | 67 | 4·341 | 107 | 6·933 | 147 | 9·525 |
| 28 | 1·814 | 68 | 4·406 | 108 | 6·998 | 148 | 9·590 |
| 29 | 1·879 | 69 | 4·471 | 109 | 7·063 | 149 | 9·655 |
| 30 | 1·944 | 70 | 4·536 | 110 | 7·128 | 150 | 9·720 |
| 31 | 2·008 | 71 | 4·600 | 111 | 7·192 | 151 | 9·784 |
| 32 | 2·073 | 72 | 4·665 | 112 | 7·257 | 152 | 9·848 |
| 33 | 2·138 | 73 | 4·729 | 113 | 7·322 | 153 | 9·914 |
| 34 | 2·202 | 74 | 4·794 | 114 | 7·387 | 154 | 9·978 |
| 35 | 2·267 | 75 | 4·859 | 115 | 7·452 | 155 | 10·044 |
| 36 | 2·332 | 76 | 4·924 | 116 | 7·516 | 156 | 10·108 |
| 37 | 2·397 | 77 | 4·989 | 117 | 7·581 | 157 | 10·173 |
| 38 | 2·462 | 78 | 5·054 | 118 | 7·646 | 158 | 10·238 |
| 39 | 2·527 | 79 | 5·119 | 119 | 7·711 | 159 | 10·303 |
| 40 | 2·592 | 80 | 5·184 | 120 | 7·776 | 160 | 10·368 |

# TABLE

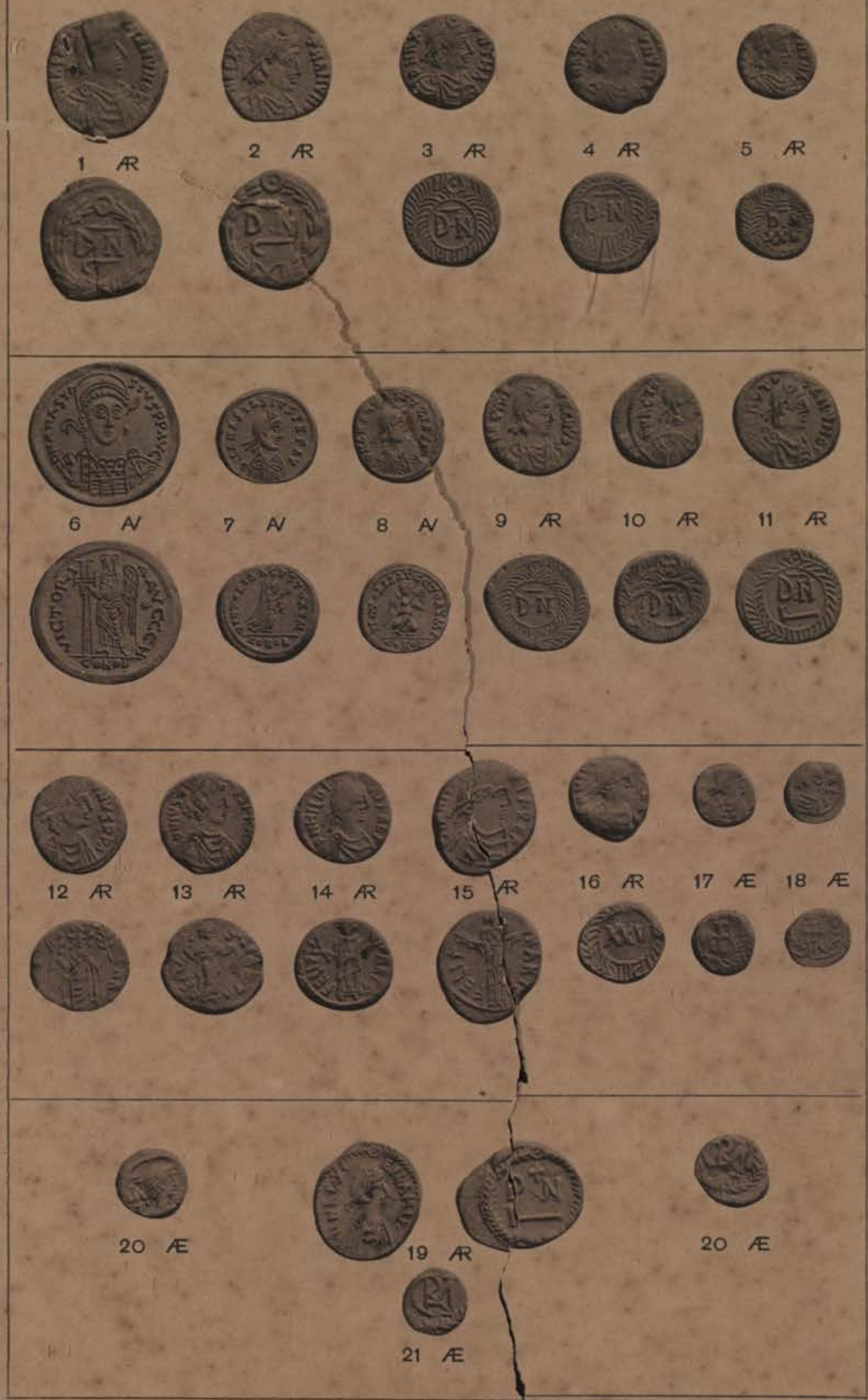
OF

# THE RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF ENGLISH GRAINS AND FRENCH GRAMMES

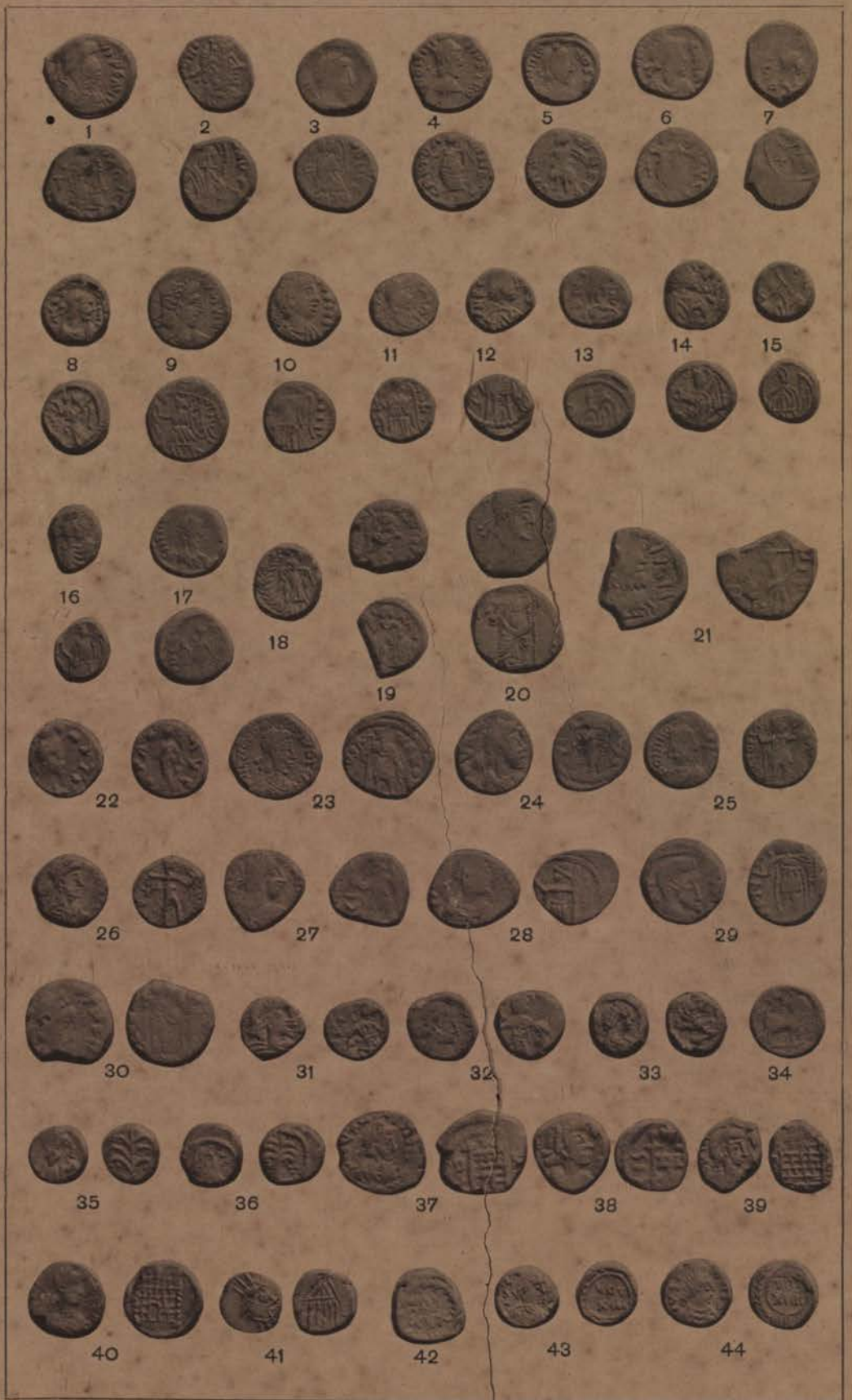
| Grains. | Grammes. | Grains. | Grammes. | Grains. | Grammes. | Grains. | Grammes. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 161 | 10·432 | 201 | 13·024 | 241 | 15·616 | 290 | 18·79 |
| 162 | 10·497 | 202 | 13·089 | 242 | 15·680 | 300 | 19·44 |
| 163 | 10·562 | 203 | 13·154 | 243 | 15·745 | 310 | 20·08 |
| 164 | 10·626 | 204 | 13·219 | 244 | 15·810 | 320 | 20·73 |
| 165 | 10·691 | 205 | 13·284 | 245 | 15·875 | 330 | 21·38 |
| 166 | 10·756 | 206 | 13·348 | 246 | 15·940 | 340 | 22·02 |
| 167 | 10·821 | 207 | 13·413 | 247 | 16·005 | 350 | 22·67 |
| 168 | 10·886 | 208 | 13·478 | 248 | 16·070 | 360 | 23·32 |
| 169 | 10·951 | 209 | 13·543 | 249 | 16·135 | 370 | 23·97 |
| 170 | 11·016 | 210 | 13·608 | 250 | 16·200 | 380 | 24·62 |
| 171 | 11·080 | 211 | 13·672 | 251 | 16·264 | 390 | 25·27 |
| 172 | 11·145 | 212 | 13·737 | 252 | 16·328 | 400 | 25·92 |
| 173 | 11·209 | 213 | 13·802 | 253 | 16·394 | 410 | 26·56 |
| 174 | 11·274 | 214 | 13·867 | 254 | 16·458 | 420 | 27·20 |
| 175 | 11·339 | 215 | 13·932 | 255 | 16·524 | 430 | 27·85 |
| 176 | 11·404 | 216 | 13·996 | 256 | 16·588 | 440 | 28·50 |
| 177 | 11·469 | 217 | 14·061 | 257 | 16·653 | 450 | 29·15 |
| 178 | 11·534 | 218 | 14·126 | 258 | 16·718 | 460 | 29·80 |
| 179 | 11·599 | 219 | 14·191 | 259 | 16·783 | 470 | 30·45 |
| 180 | 11·664 | 220 | 14·256 | 260 | 16·848 | 480 | 31·10 |
| 181 | 11·728 | 221 | 14·320 | 261 | 16·912 | 490 | 31·75 |
| 182 | 11·792 | 222 | 14·385 | 262 | 16·977 | 500 | 32·40 |
| 183 | 11·858 | 223 | 14·450 | 263 | 17·042 | 510 | 33·04 |
| 184 | 11·922 | 224 | 14·515 | 264 | 17·106 | 520 | 33·68 |
| 185 | 11·988 | 225 | 14·580 | 265 | 17·171 | 530 | 34·34 |
| 186 | 12·052 | 226 | 14·644 | 266 | 17·236 | 540 | 34·98 |
| 187 | 12·117 | 227 | 14·709 | 267 | 17·301 | 550 | 35·64 |
| 188 | 12·182 | 228 | 14·774 | 268 | 17·366 | 560 | 36·28 |
| 189 | 12·247 | 229 | 14·839 | 269 | 17·431 | 570 | 36·93 |
| 190 | 12·312 | 230 | 14·904 | 270 | 17·496 | 580 | 37·58 |
| 191 | 12·376 | 231 | 14·968 | 271 | 17·560 | 590 | 38·23 |
| 192 | 12·441 | 232 | 15·033 | 272 | 17·625 | 600 | 38·88 |
| 193 | 12·506 | 233 | 15·098 | 273 | 17·689 | 700 | 45·36 |
| 194 | 12·571 | 234 | 15·162 | 274 | 17·754 | 800 | 51·84 |
| 195 | 12·636 | 235 | 15·227 | 275 | 17·819 | 900 | 58·32 |
| 196 | 12·700 | 236 | 15·292 | 276 | 17·884 | 1000 | 64·80 |
| 197 | 12·765 | 237 | 15·357 | 277 | 17·949 | 2000 | 129·60 |
| 198 | 12·830 | 238 | 15·422 | 278 | 18·014 | 3000 | 194·40 |
| 199 | 12·895 | 239 | 15·487 | 279 | 18·079 | 4000 | 259·20 |
| 200 | 12·960 | 240 | 15·552 | 280 | 18·144 | 5000 | 324·00 |



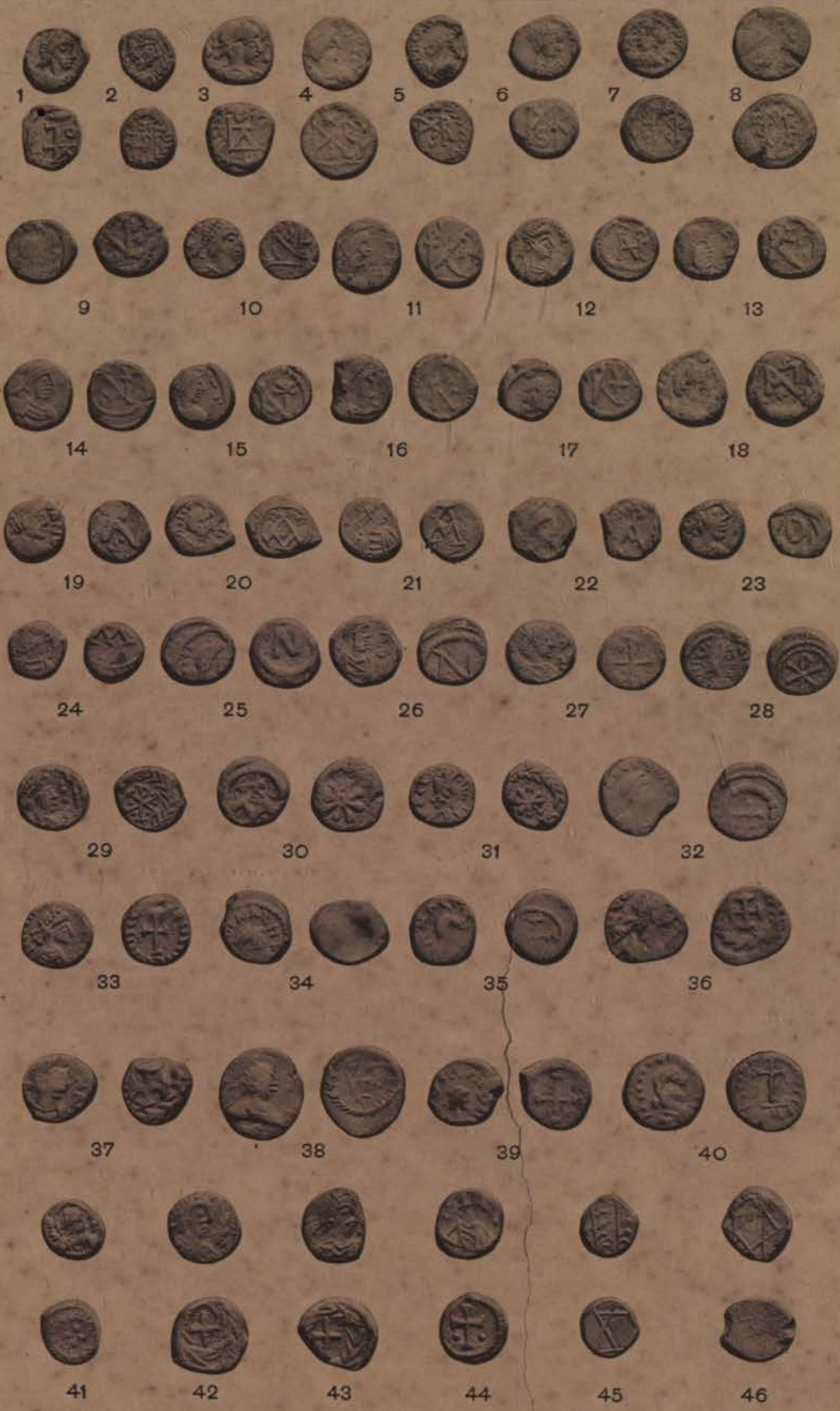

VANDALS:—GAISERIC (1-11). HUNERIC (12-18).




VANDALS:—GUNTHAMUND (1-5). TRASAMUND (6-11).
HILDERIC (12-18). GELIMER (19-21).




SMALL BRONZE COINS OF THE VANDALIC PERIOD.




SMALL BRONZE COINS OF THE VANDALIC PERIOD.

OSTROGOTHS:—ODOVACAR (1-13). THEODORIC (RAVENNA, 14-21).

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OSTROGOTHS:—THEODORIC (RAVENNA; ROME).

OSTROGOTHS:—THEODORIC (ROME, &c., 1-15).
ATHALARIC (RAVENNA, 16-23).

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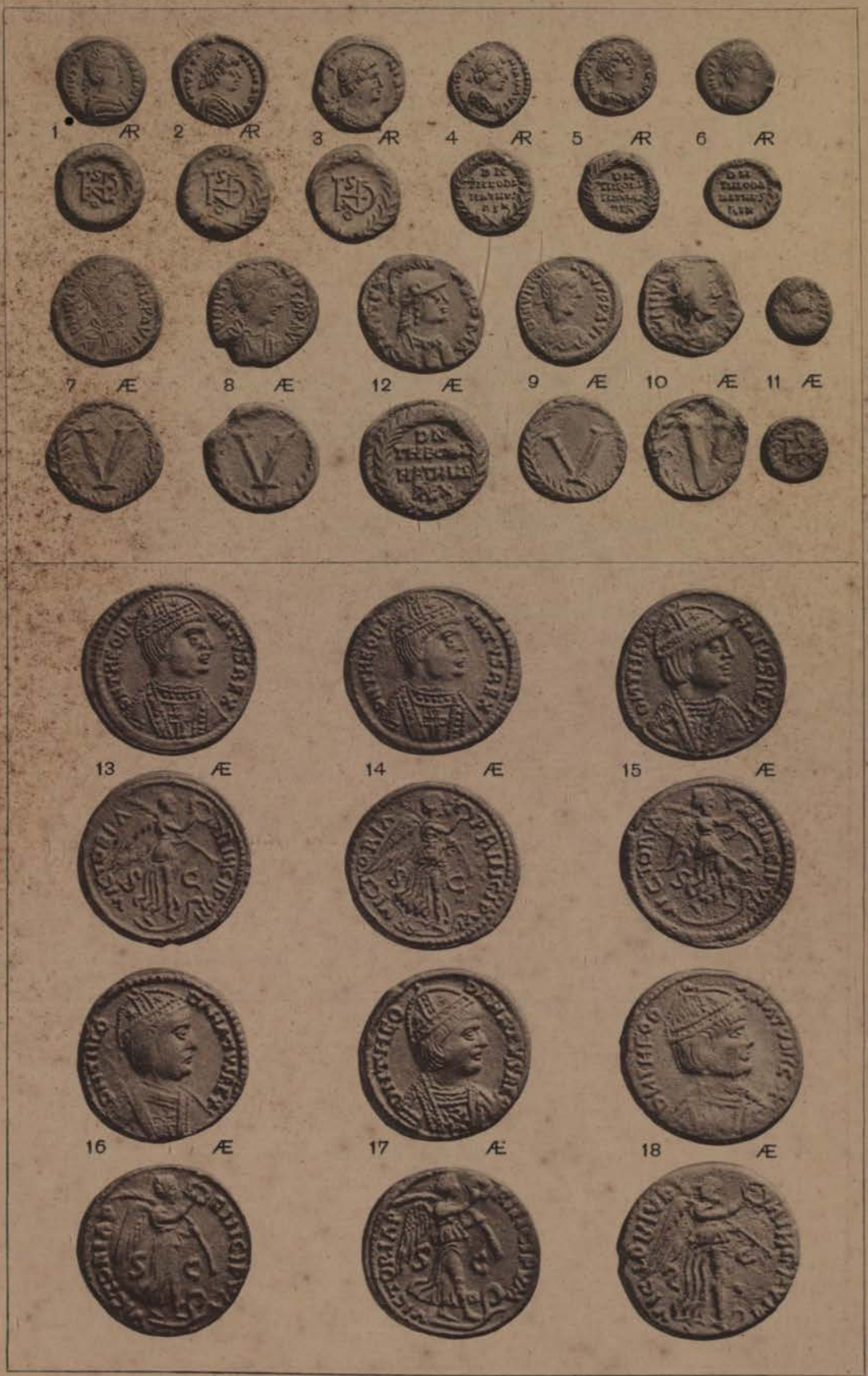
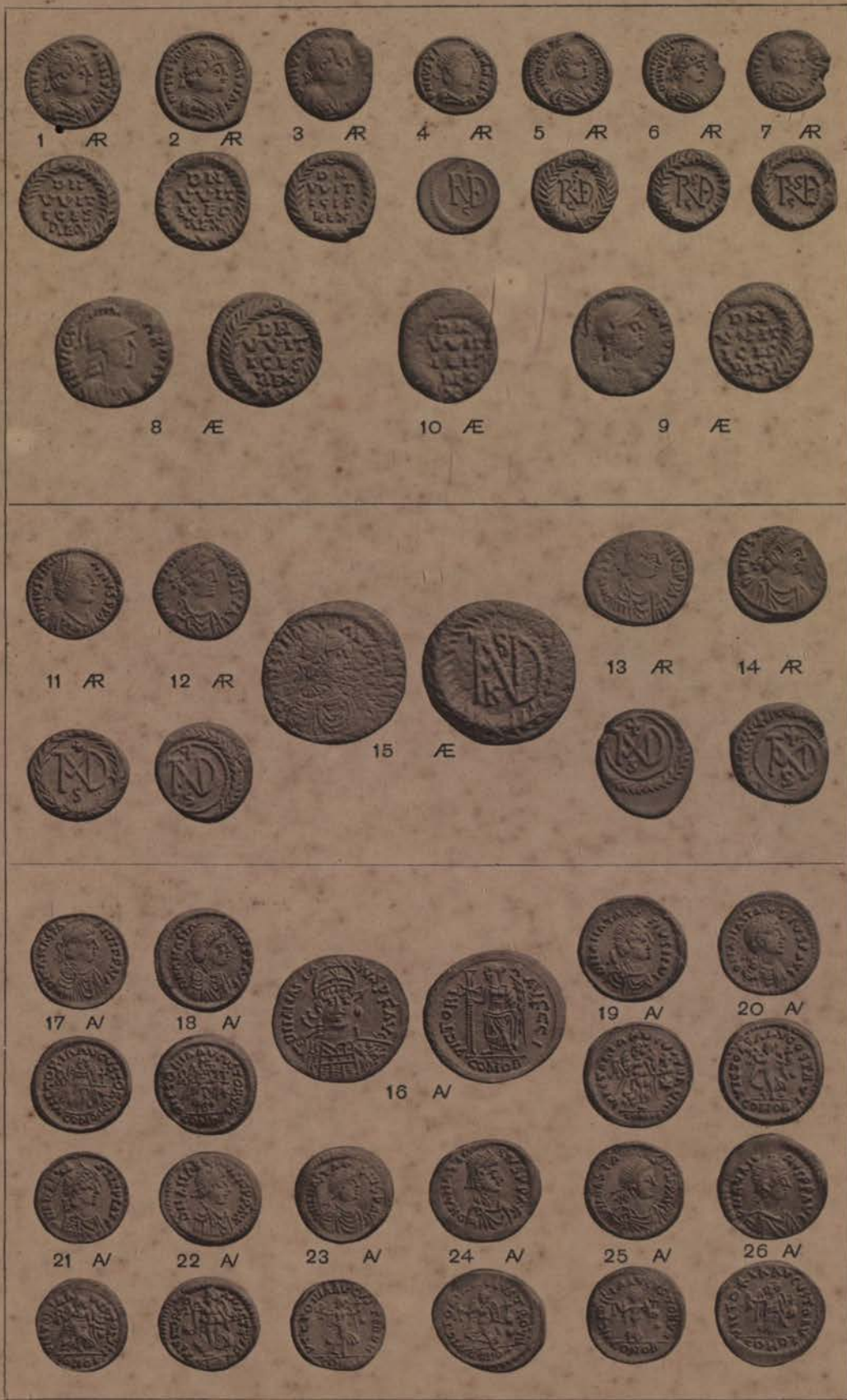
21 Æ 22 Æ 23 Æ 24 Æ 25 Æ

OSTROGOTHS:—ATHALARIC (RAVENNA; ROME).




OSTROGOTHS:—THEODAHAD (RAVENNA; ROME).




OSTROGOTHS:—WITIGIS (1–10). MATASUNTHA (11–15).
BADUILA (TICINUM, 16–26).

1 AV 2 AV 3 AR 4 AR 5 AR 6 AR

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7 AR 8 AR 9 AR 10 AR 11 AR 12 AR 13 AR

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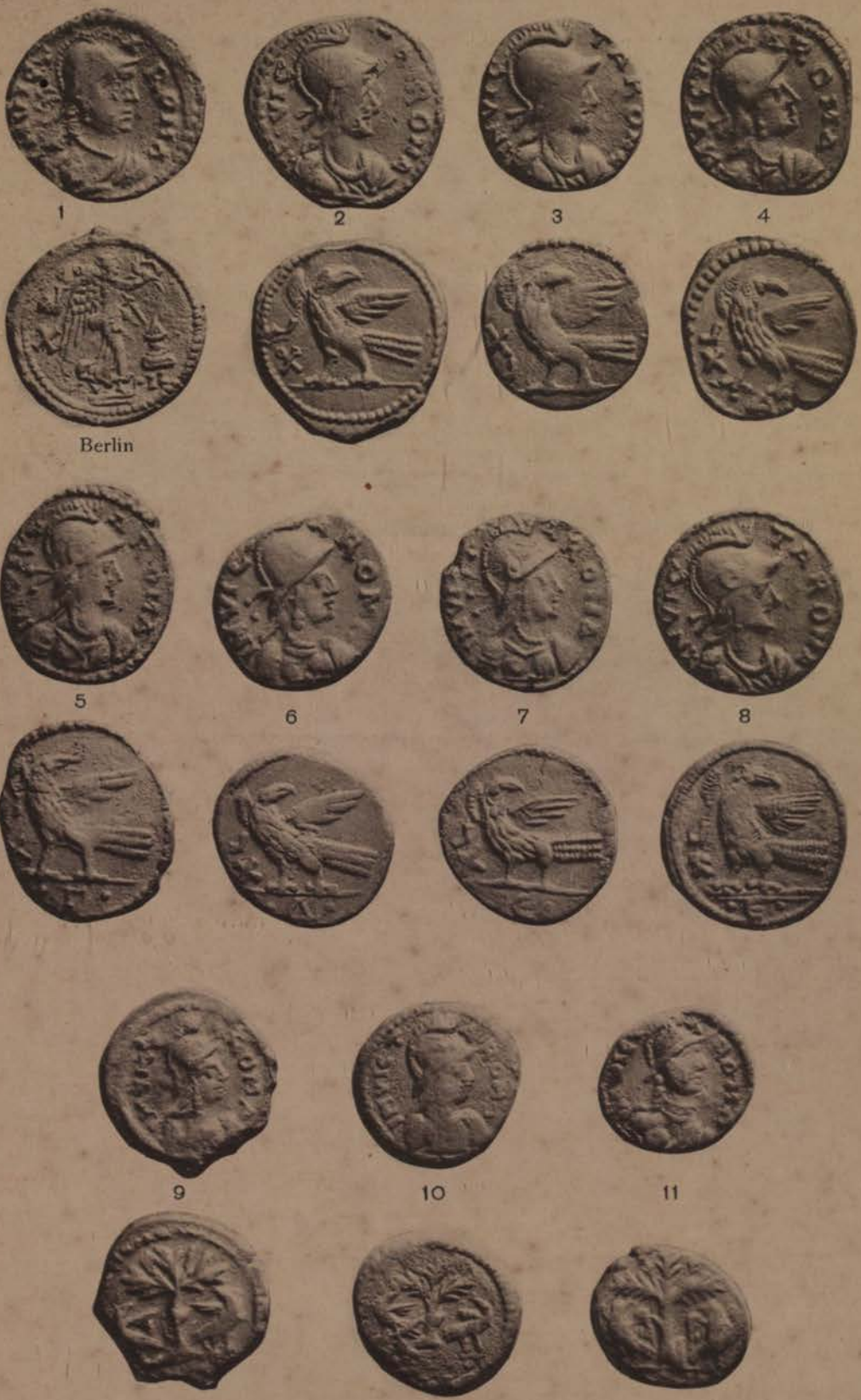
Berlin

OSTROGOTHS:—BADUILA (TICINUM, 1-27; ROME, 28-30).

OSTROGOTHS:—BADUILA (ROME, 1-6). THEIA (7-19). QUASI-AUTONOMOUS BRONZE OF ROME (20-23).



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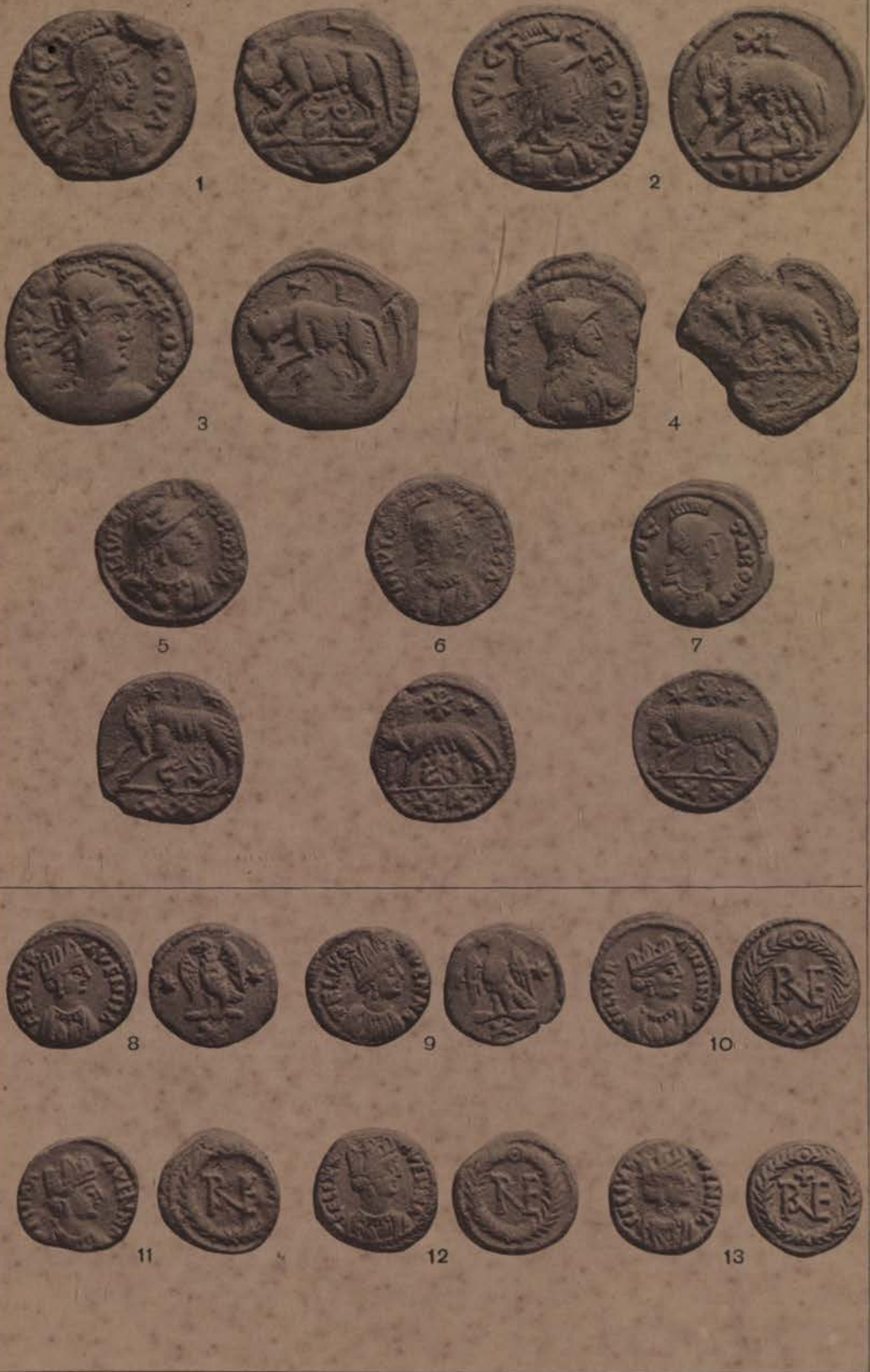
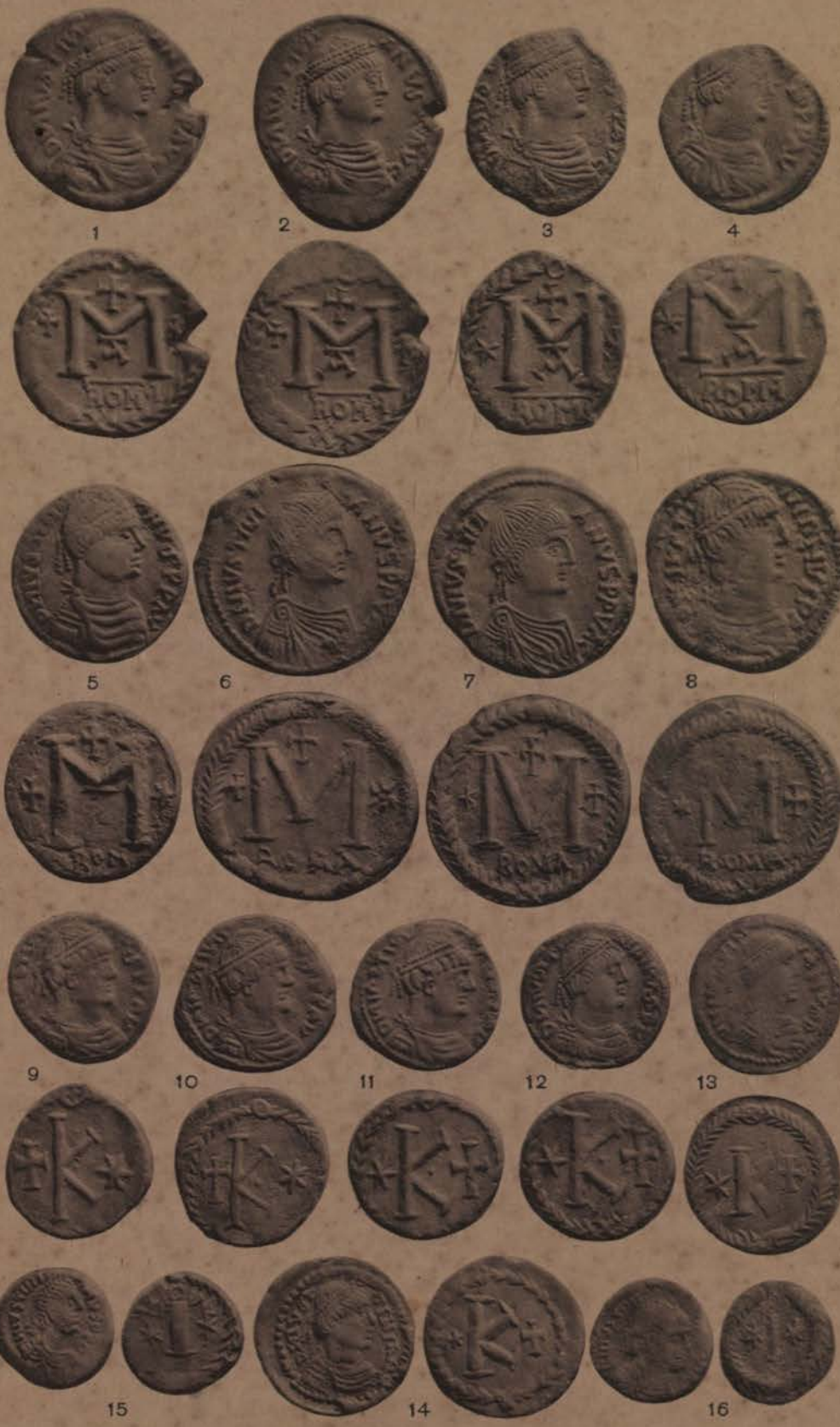
OSTROGOTHS:—QUASI-AUTONOMOUS BRONZE OF ROME.



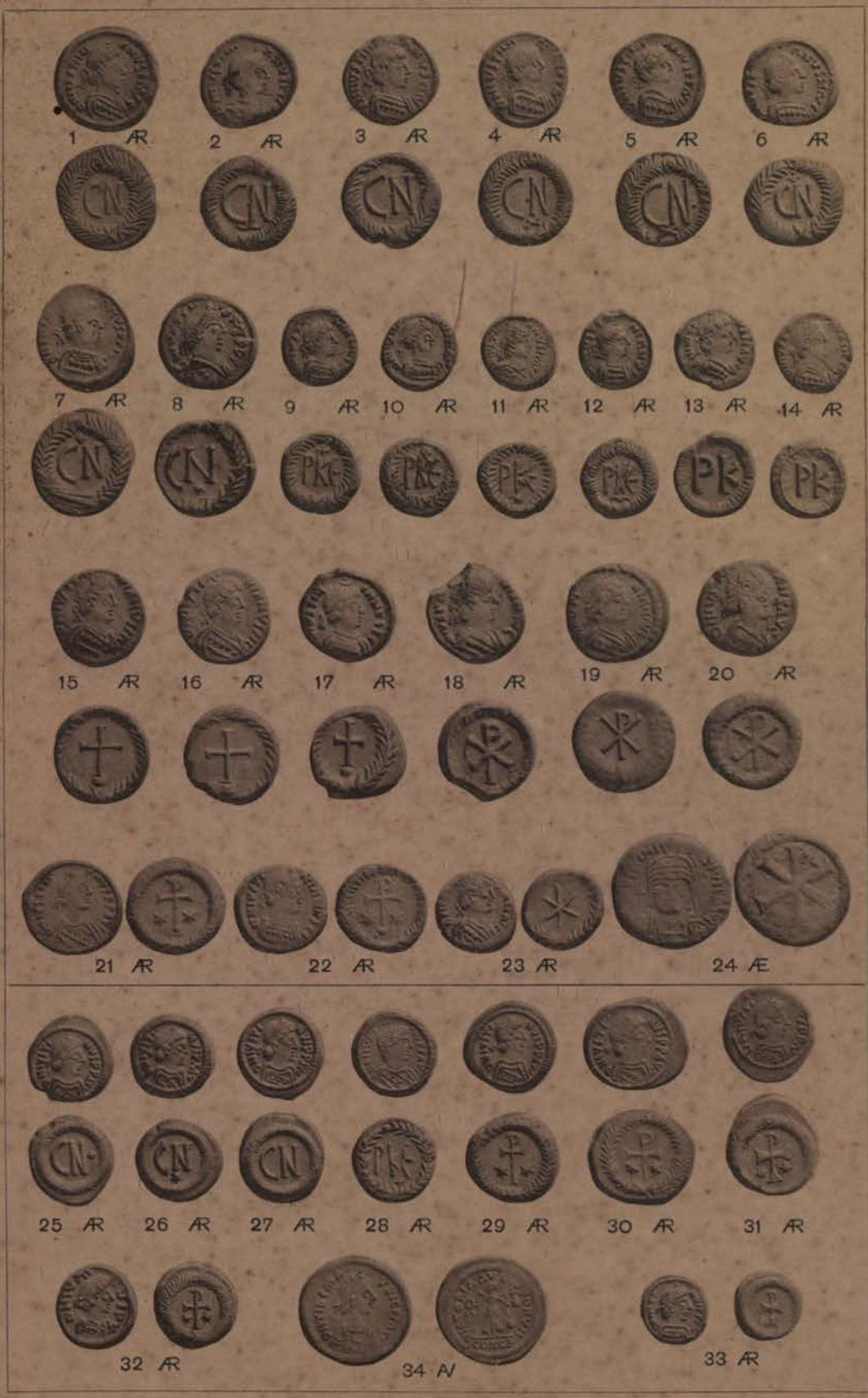
OSTROGOTHS:—QUASI-AUTONOMOUS BRONZE OF ROME AND RAVENNA.



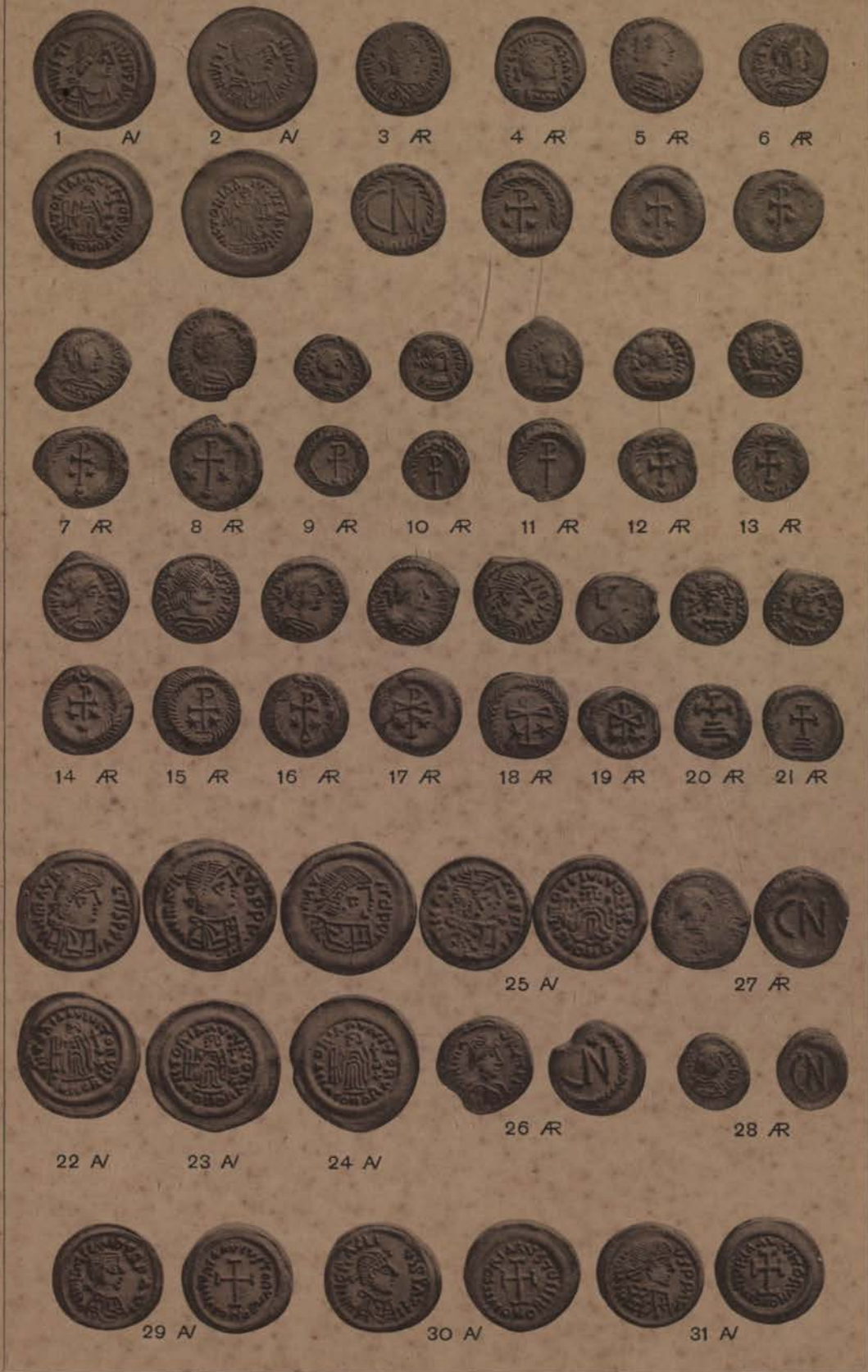
IMPERIAL COINS OF JUSTINIAN I (ROME, BRONZE).

GOLD COIN OF THEODORIC (ENLARGED) IN THE COLLECTION OF COM. F. GNECCHI, MILAN.

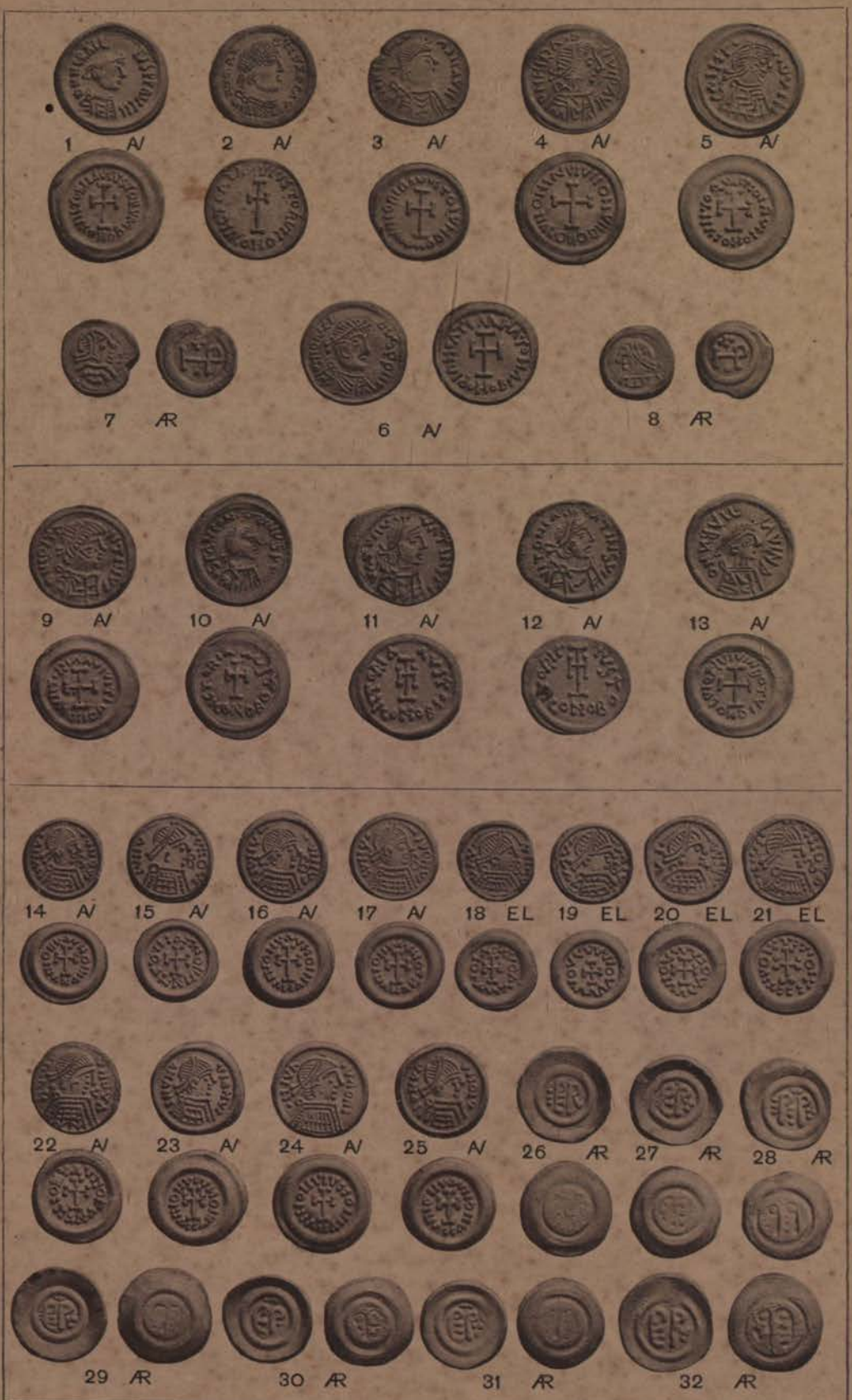
IMPERIAL COINS OF JUSTINIAN I (ROME; RAVENNA).




IMPERIAL COINS:—JUSTINIAN I (RAVENNA, 1-24), JUSTIN II (RAVENNA, 25-33), MAURICE TIBERIUS (No. 34).

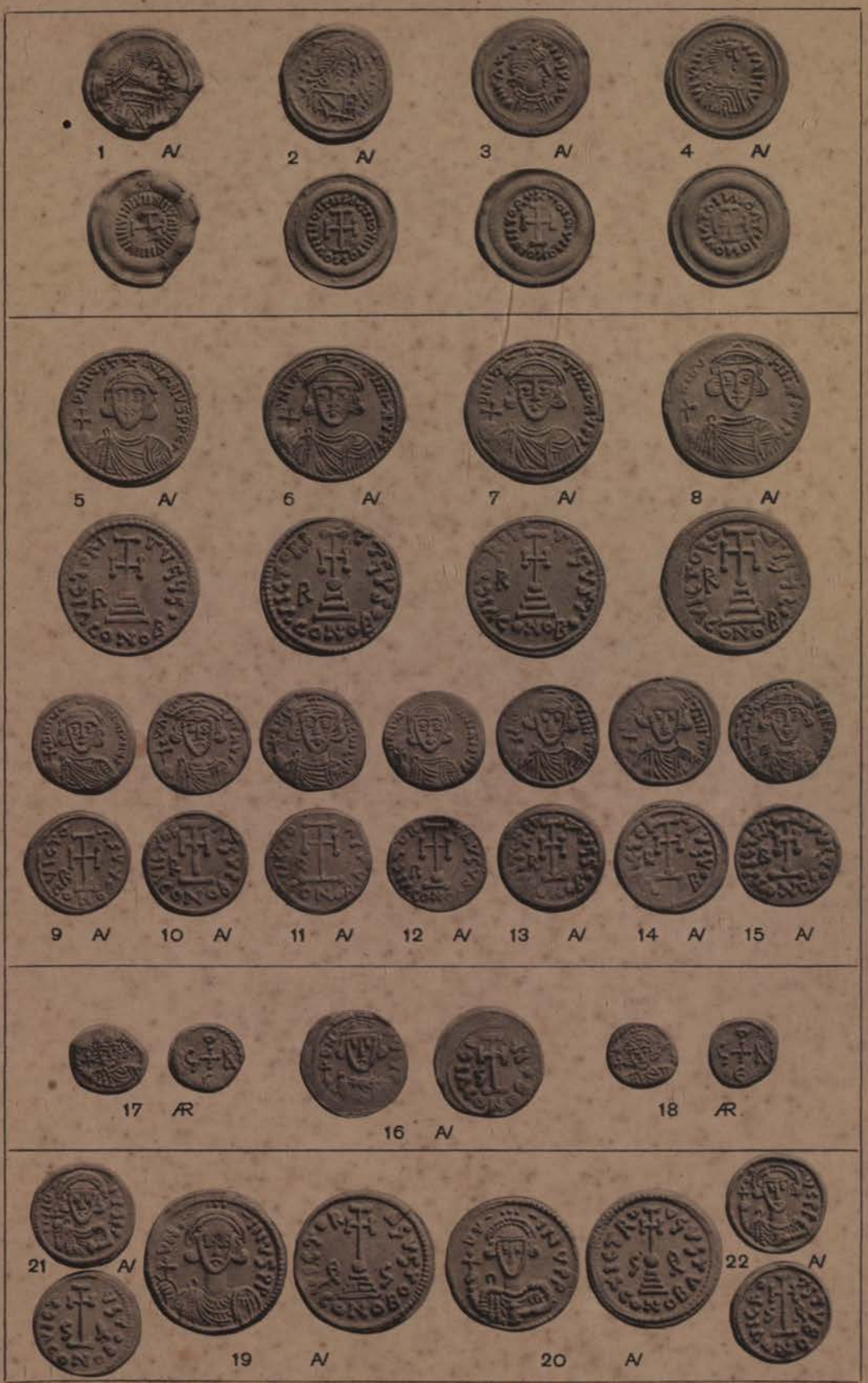



LOMBARDS:—ALBOIN—INTERREGNUM (1-21). AUTHARI—AGILULF (22-28). ADALWALD—ROTHARI (29-31).




LOMBARDS:—ADALWALD—ROTHARI (1-8). RODWALD—GRIMWALD (9-13). PERCTARIT (14-32).

LOMBARDS:—CUNINCPERT (1, 2). ARIPERT II (No. 3). LIUTPRAND (4–8). AISTULF (No. 9). DESIDERIUS (10–12). COINS OF LUCCA (13–16). CHARLEMAGNE (No. 17).




LOMBARD, UNCERTAIN (1-4). BENEVENTUM:—ROMOALD II (5-15). GREGORIUS (16-18). GISULF II (19-22).

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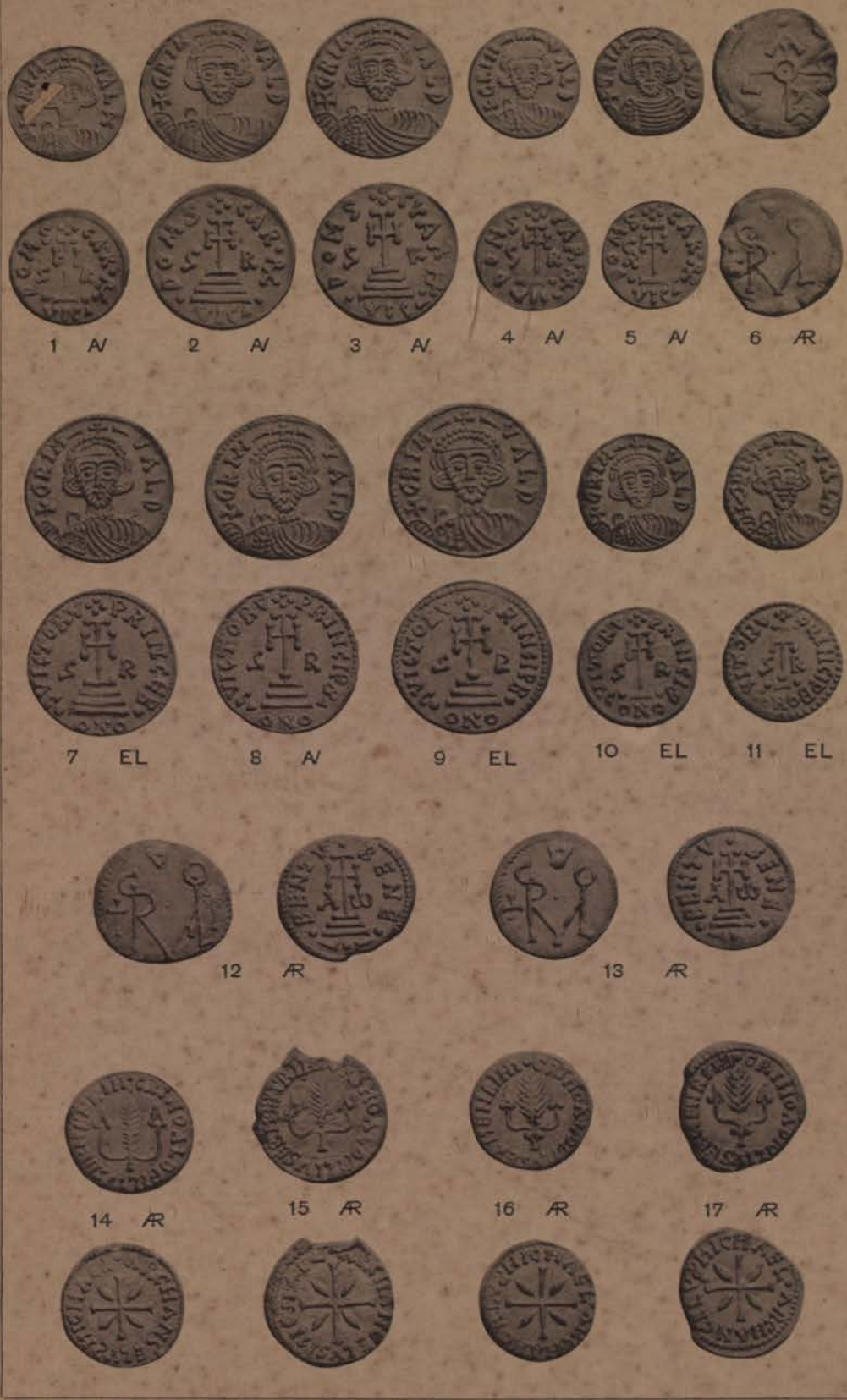
BENEVENTUM:—LIUTPRAND (1-6). ARICHIS II (7-17).



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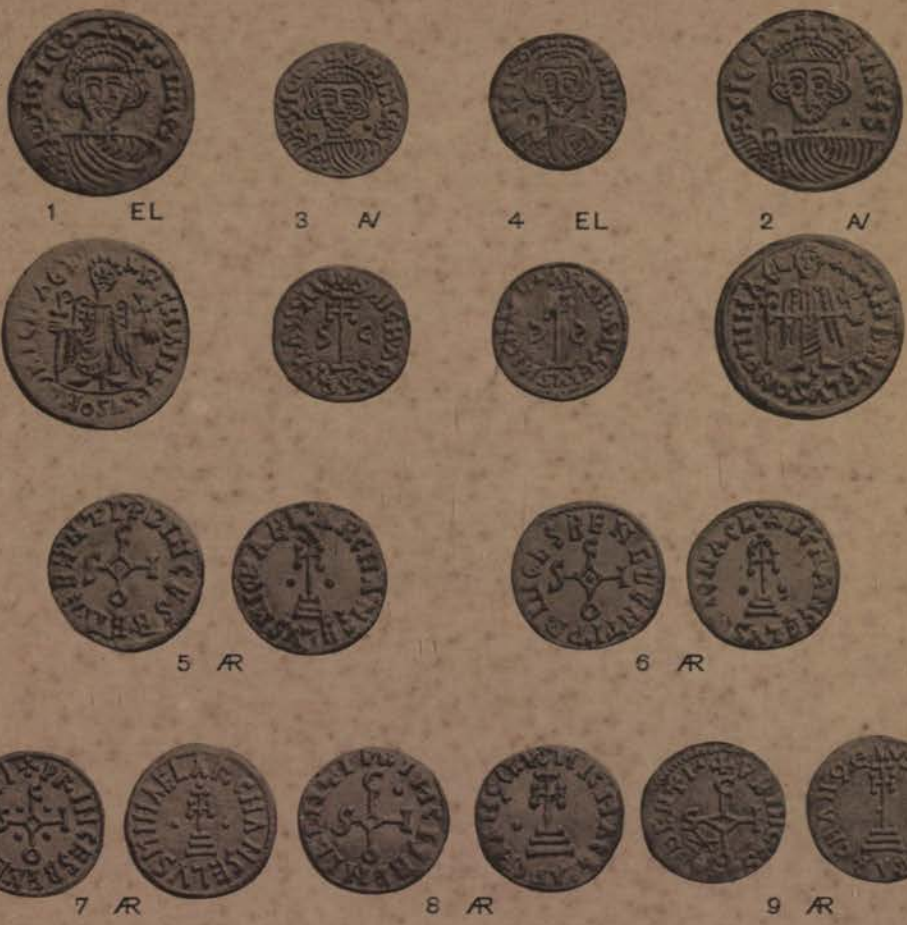
BENEVENTUM:—GRIMOALD III (1-13). GRIMOALD IV (14-17).



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BENEVENTUM:—SICO (1-9). SICARDUS (10-14).

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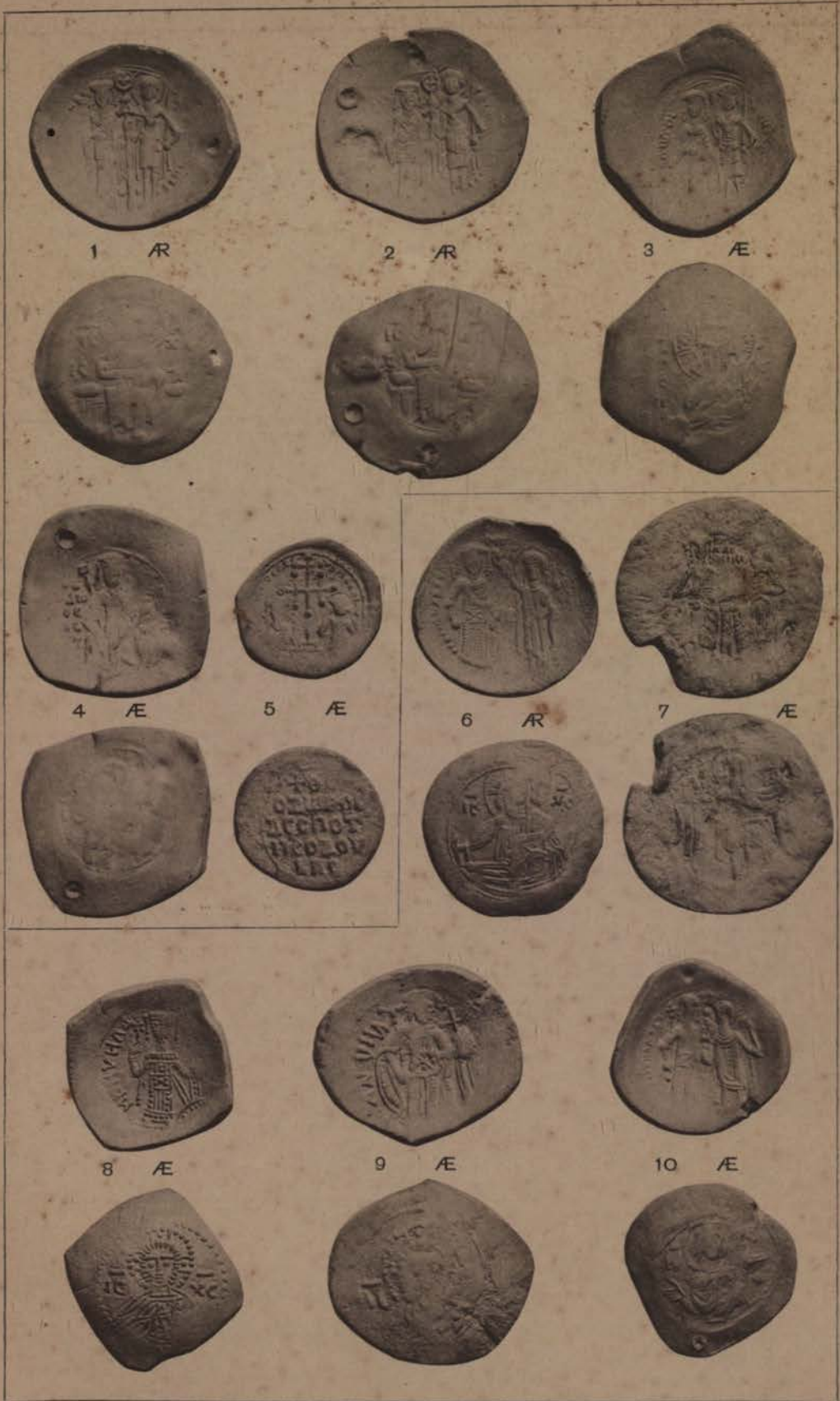
BENEVENTUM:—RADELCHIS I (1-3). ADELCHIS (4-6). UNCERTAIN (7-12).



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THESSALONICA:—THEODORE ANGELUS (1-5). MANUEL ANGELUS (6-10).

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COINAGE OF THESSALONICA (1).

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NICAEA:—THEODORE I LASCARIS.

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NICAEA:—THEODORE I LASCARIS (1, 2). JOHN I VATATZES (3–8).

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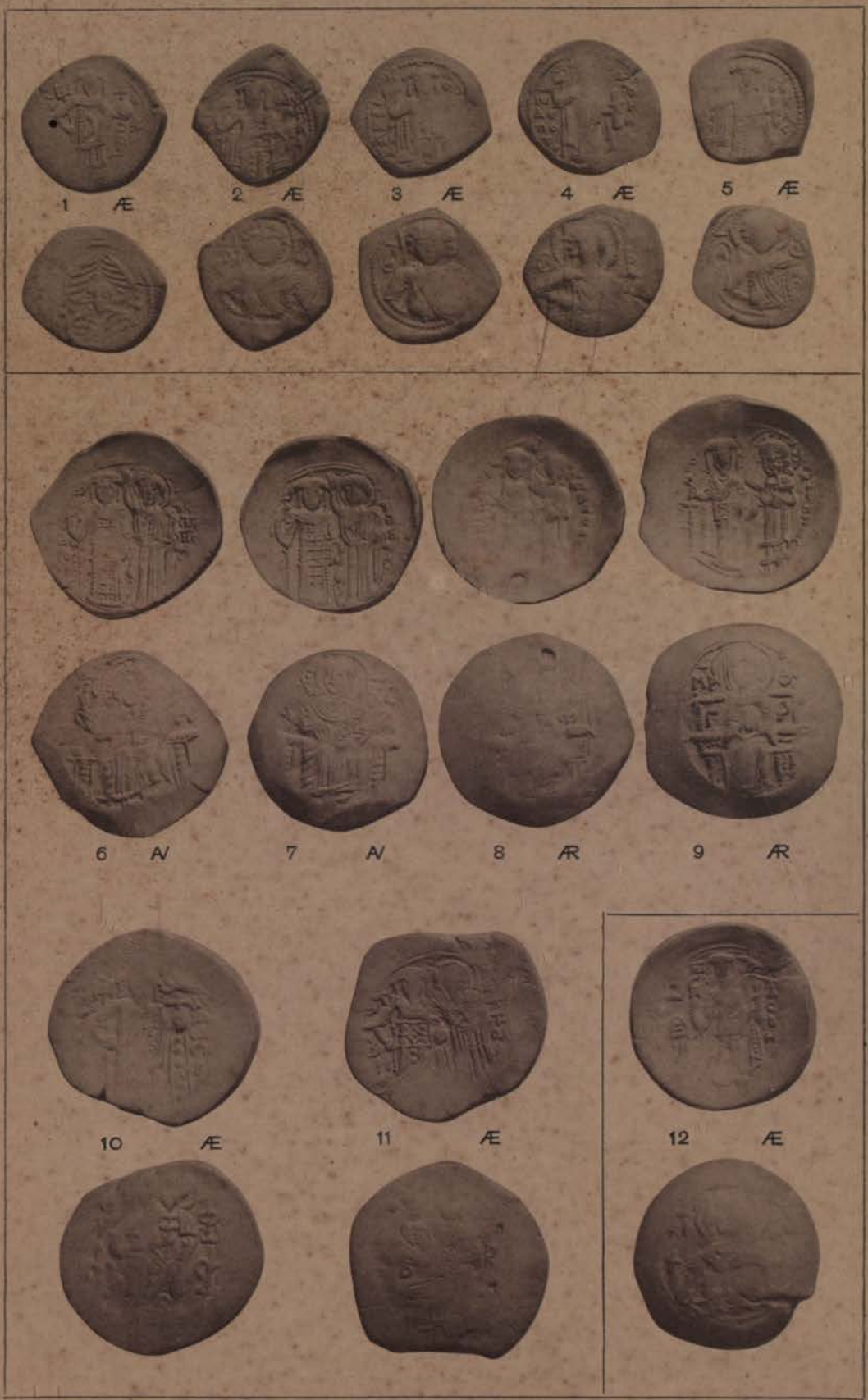
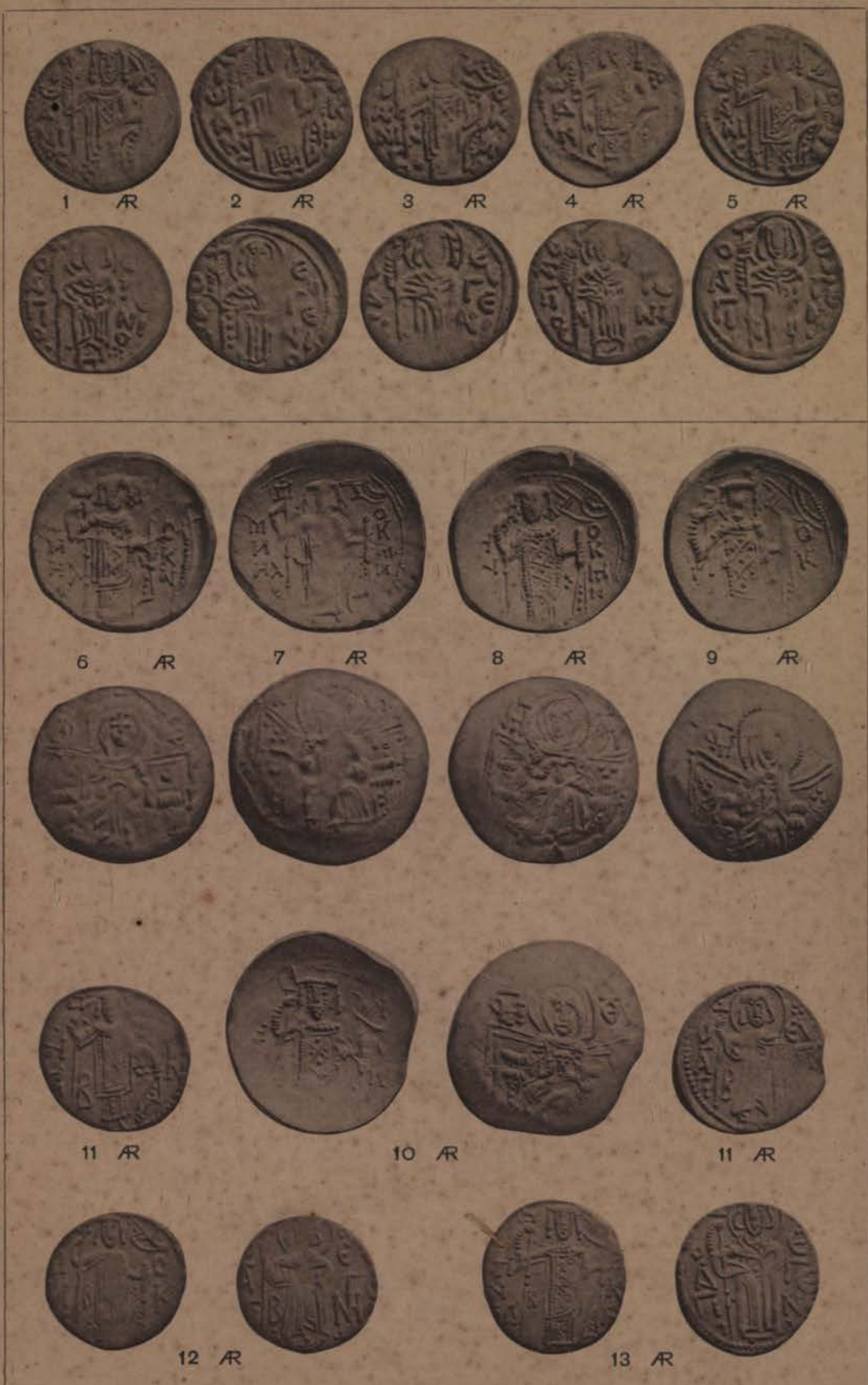



NICAEA:—JOHN I VATATZES (1-5). THEODORE II (6-11).
NEOPATRAS:—JOHN I (No. 12).




TREBIZOND:—JOHN I (1-5). MANUEL I (6-13).

TREBIZOND:—MANUEL I. SILVER.

TREBIZOND:—MANUEL I (SILVER).

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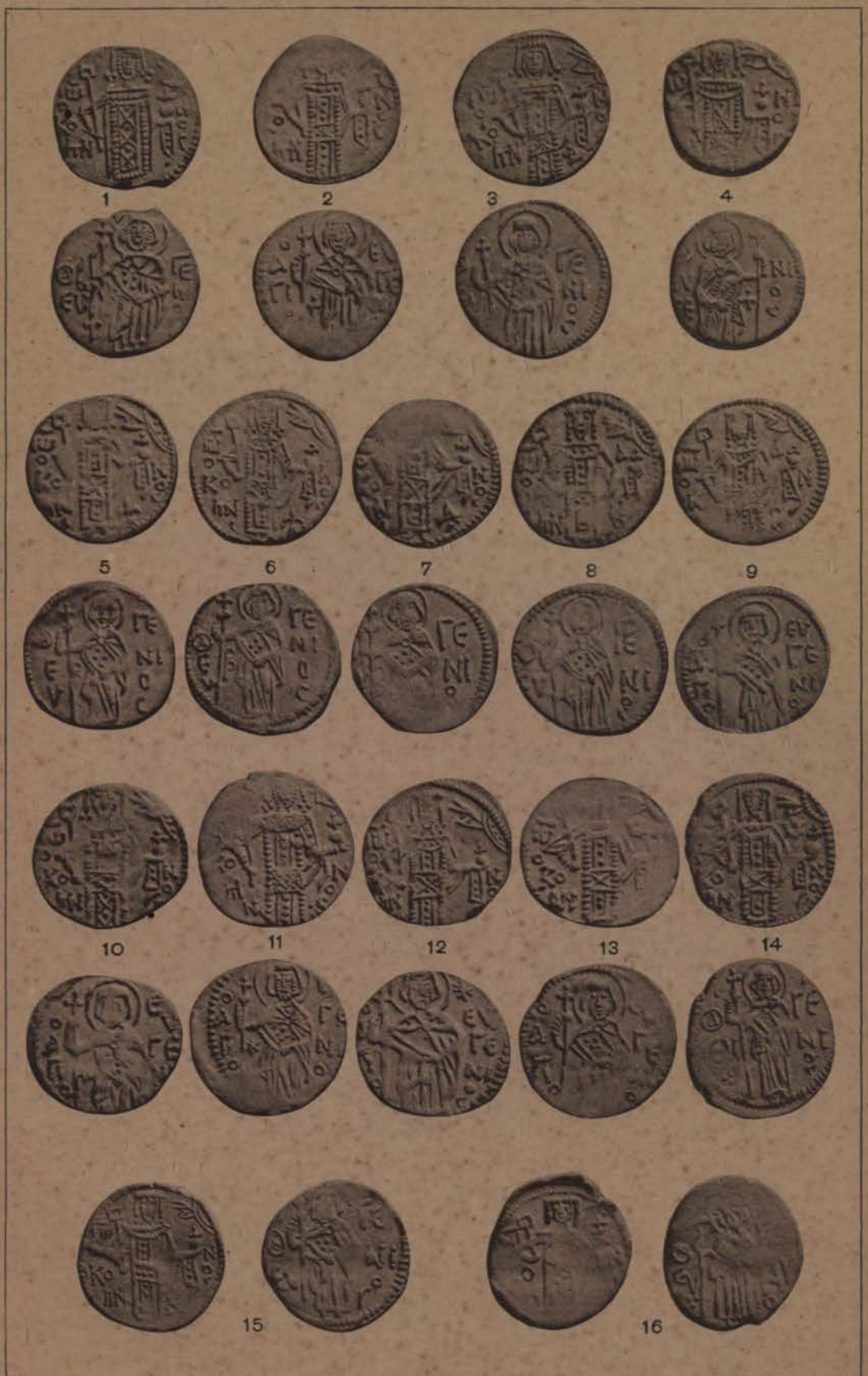
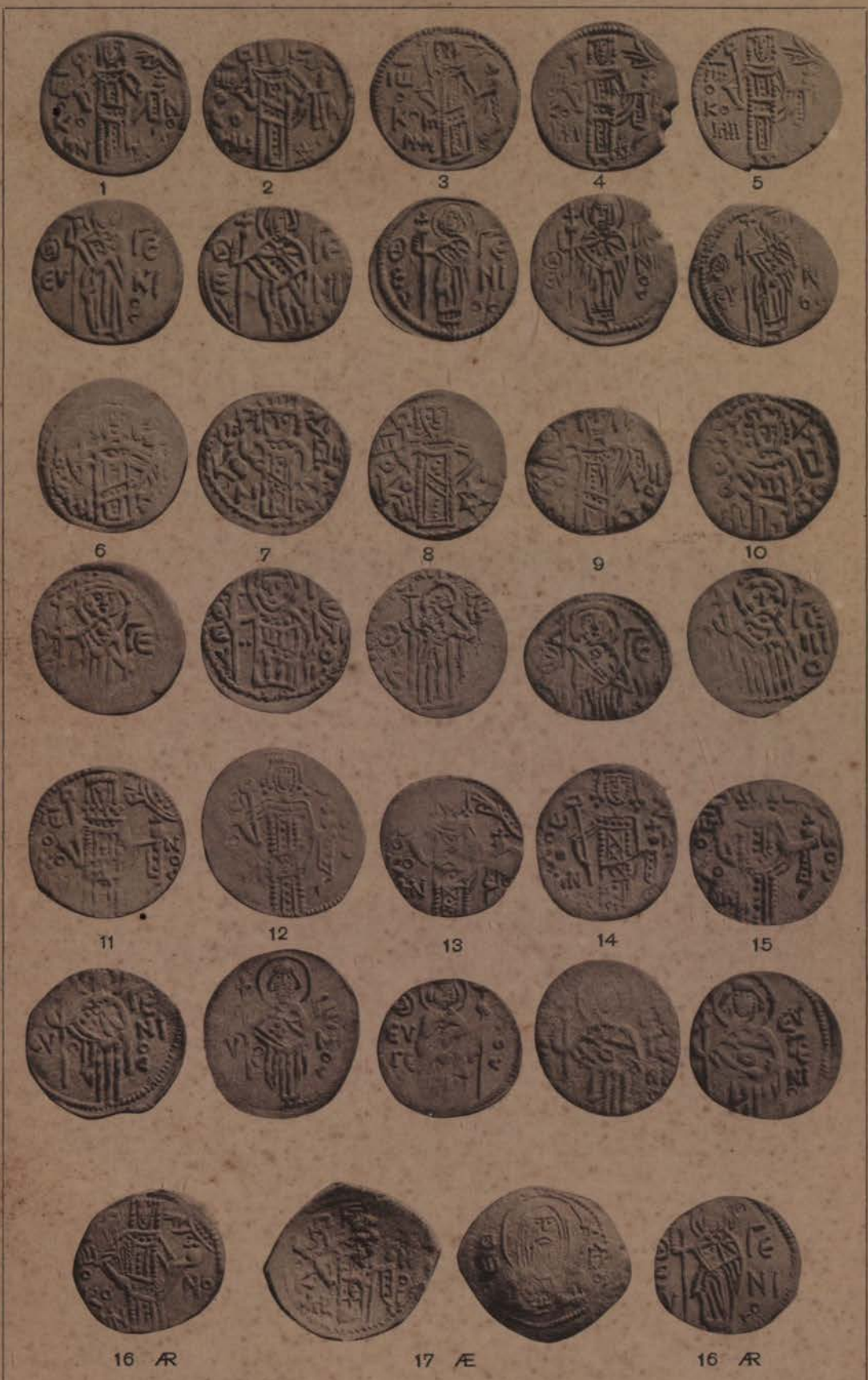
TREBIZOND:—MANUEL I? ÆR (1-4). MANUEL I Æ (5). GEORGE (6). JOHN II (7-11).



TREBIZOND:—JOHN II. SILVER.



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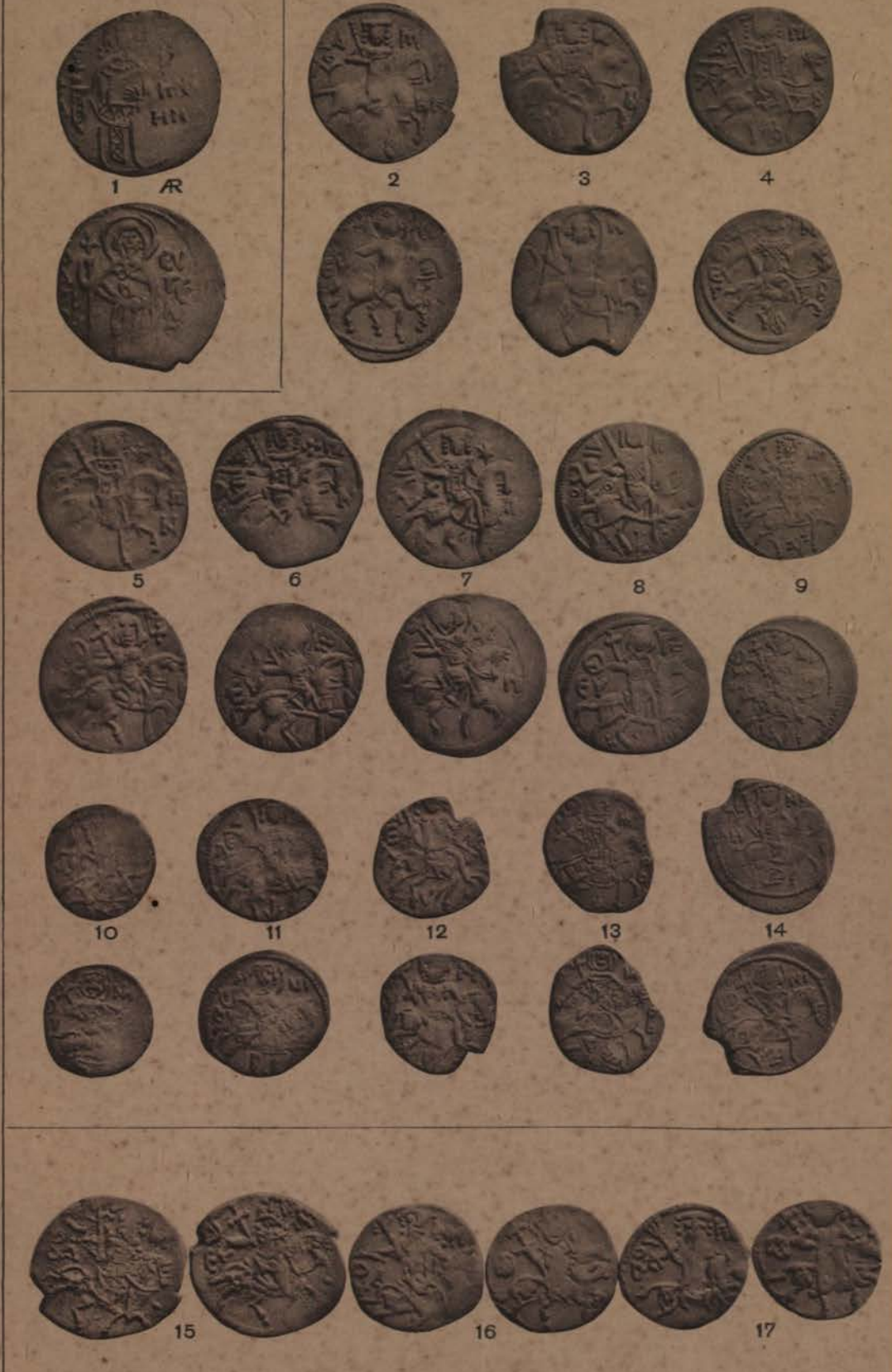
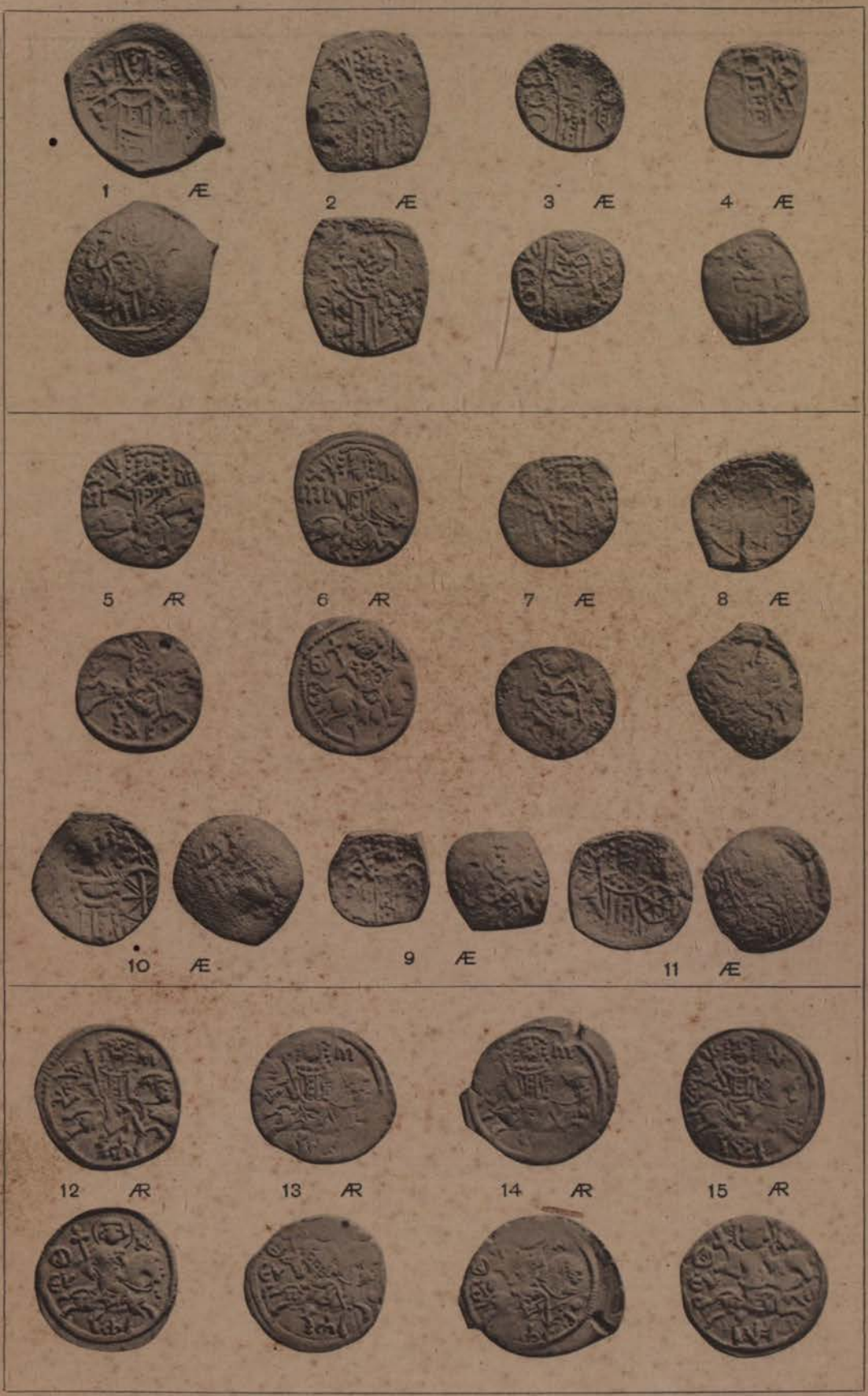
TREBIZOND:—JOHN II (1-16, SILVER; 17, BRONZE).

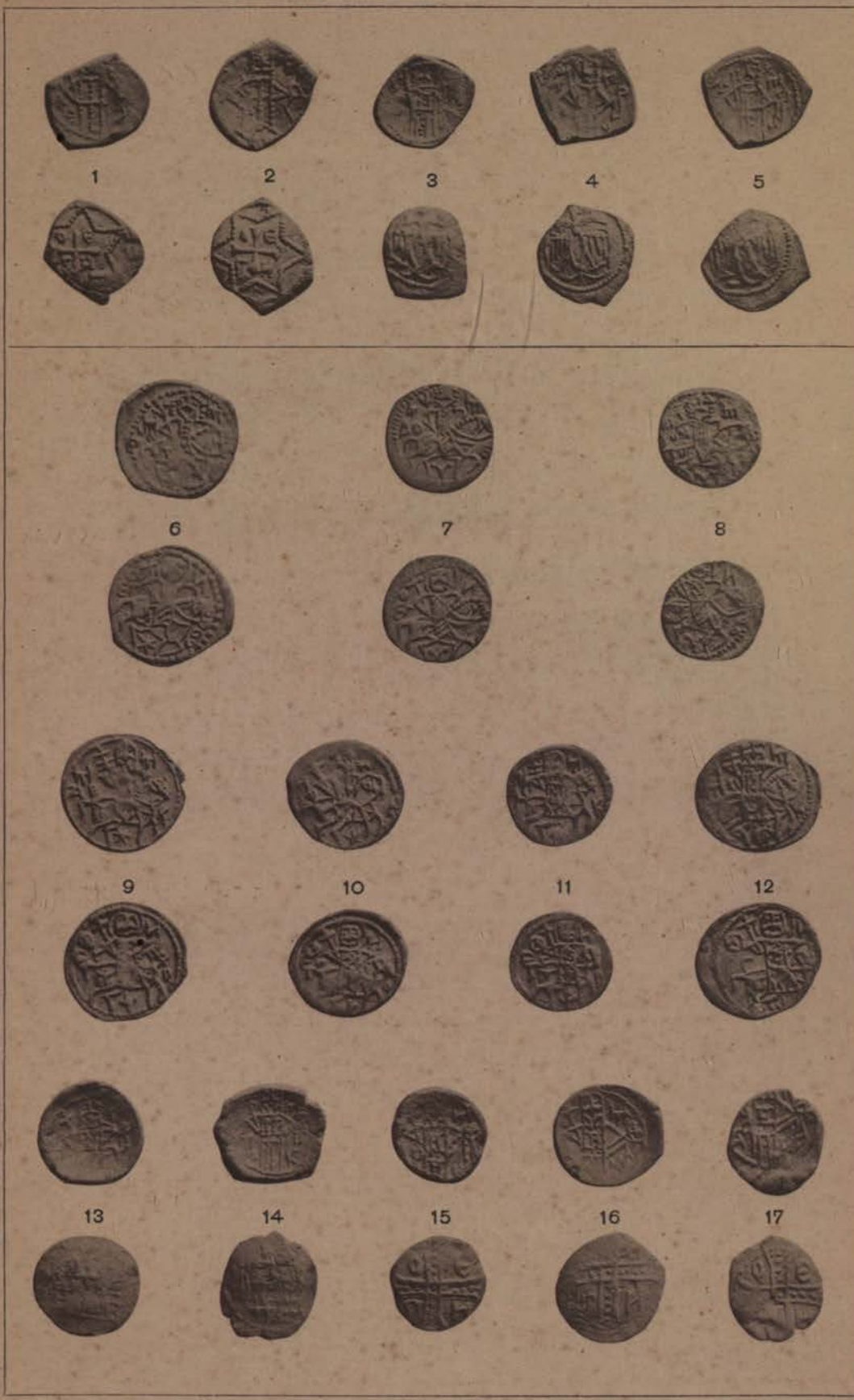



TREBIZOND:—THEODORA (1). ALEXIUS II (2-14 Æ). BASIL (15-17 Æ).




TREBIZOND:—JOHN III (1—4). MICHAEL (5-11). ALEXIUS III (12-15).

TREBIZOND:—ALEXIUS III (1-8 Æ; 9-19 Æ).




TREBIZOND:—ALEXIUS III (1-5 Æ). MANUEL III (6-12 Æ; 13-17 Æ).

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TREBIZOND:—ALEXIUS IV (1-4). UNCERTAIN (5-9).

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Catalogue of the Coins Vandals, Ostrogoths and [illegible] mbards and empire of Thessalonica & Trebizond in British Museum 1911.

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